
Mr. *Le CLERC*'s Account
OF THE
Earl of *Clarendon*'s History
OF THE
CIVIL WARS.

The Second Edition.

MR. L. C. ERIC'S ACCOUNT
OF THE
EARL OF CLARENDOFF'S HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS.

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Mr. Le CLERC's

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Earl of Clarendon's

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVIL WARS.

Done from the *French* Printed at
Amsterdam.

By J. O.

The Second Edition Corrected.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys, be-
tween the Two Temple-Gates, in Fleet-street. 1710.

W. L. CLARKE'S
A ACCOUNT
OF THE
Earl of Clarendon's
HISTORY
OF THE
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Printed for Bernard Lintick at the Coffee-House
between the Two Temple-Gates, in Great-Britain, 1702.

(v) vba iv

ADVERTISEMENT.

SOME few Errors of Dates, and a Verbal Fault or two, which were found in Monsieur le Clerc's Account of my Lord Clarendon's History, are, by having Recourse to the History it self, Rectify'd in the following Translation.

As for any Mistakes Mr. le Clerc, as a Foreigner, might make of my Lord's Sense, I don't meet with any thing of that kind liable to the least Objection, except in a Line or two (and that not material) where he Quotes my Lord about suppressing the High Commission Court. Mr. le Clerc, I'm credibly inform'd, among his other Attainments, is too great a Master of the English Tongue, not to be able to give a just Account of any of our Authors.

There's one thing (Page 40. of this Translation) which shou'd have been explain'd

plain'd at the bottom of that Page; but it being too late to do it there, and because some Readers may be shock'd at it, I shall take notice of it in this Place. Mr. le Clerc's Words are, 'Several Presbyterian
'Ministers presented Petitions, Sign'd by
'a great number of Persons who had not
'Seen them, against the Episcopal Go-
'vernment.

To clear up this seeming Impossibility, Mr. le Clerc had done well to have Quoted in Part, or in the Whole, what my Lord says of that Matter. You will find it in p. 161. of the first Vol. in Folio.
'It was a strange Disingenuity, that was
'practis'd in the procuring those Petitions;
'which continu'd ever after, in the like
'Addresses. The Course was, First, to
'prepare a Petition, very modest and du-
'tiful, for the Form; and for the Matter,
'not very unreasonable; and to commu-
'nicate it at some Publick Meeting, where
'care was taken it shou'd be receiv'd with
'Approbation: The Subscription of very
'few Hands fill'd the Paper it self, where
'the Petition was written, and therefore
'many

many more Sheets were annex'd, for the reception of the Number, which gave all the Credit, and procur'd all the Countenance to the Undertaking. When a multitude of Hands was procur'd, the Petition it self was cut off, and a new one fram'd, suitable to the Design in hand, and annex'd to the long List of Names which were subscrib'd to the former. By this means, many Men found their Hands subscribed to Petitions, of which, They before had never heard. As several Ministers, whose Hands were to the Petition and Declaration of the London Ministers before mention'd, have profess'd to many Persons, "That they never saw that Petition or Declaration, before it was presented to the House; but had sign'd another, &c.

The Reader will easily perceive, which are Mr. le Clerc's Observations, tho' they are not always mark'd at the bottom of the Page.

As for Episcopus, whom Mr. le Clerc praises so much, he was one of the chief Pillars of the Armenian Sect. You will find

find a satisfactory Account of him in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, to which I refer, as likewise for that of Arminius himself, who, among other things, oppos'd absolute Predestination, and acknowledg'd no other Election, but that which was grounded on Obedience of Sinners, to the Vocation of God by Jesus Christ. Mr. Bayle, in the Article Episcopus, tells us, 'That the Superiors of the Arminian College at Amsterdam, order'd their Professor, Mr. le Clerc, one of the most Learned Men of his Age, to accuse publicly as a Slanderer M. Jurieu, who had spoken ill of Episcopus.

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Mr. Le CLERC's
 ACCOUNT
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 CIVIL WARS.

THE Author of this History was a very Eminent and a very Learned Lawyer of *London*. His Name was *Edward Hyde*. Altho' his Personal Qualities, his Services to *Charles I.* and *Charles the II.* (Kings of *Great Britain*) together with his Employments, have render'd him Illustrious in *England* and beyond Sea; He is, however, more known by the Honour he had to be the Grandfather of Two Queens of *Great Britain*, One of whom now Reigns with as much Glory as any of her Predecessors. Those who were acquainted with this Able Man, or have heard speak of him, well knew he had received from Heaven very great Talents; but they were ignorant, before this History appear'd, that he was capable of maintaining a Rank so distinguish'd among Historians. King *Charles the First*

was sensible of it, since he had given him Commission to Write the History of the Troubles of *England*, for which it was in his Power to Collect Memoirs, so much the more easily, as that he himself was at first a Member of the Parliament, which made War on that unhappy Prince, and was afterwards employed in his Affairs.

† If they who publish'd this History had given a small Abridgment of the Author's Life, they had pleasur'd the Publick more, than by putting before it a Preface, wherein there are Political Reflections, upon the present War, which have been destroy'd by the Event.

Edward Hyde was at first a Lawyer and Member of Parliament, where he began to perform good Services for the King, and afterwards Privy Counsellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He accompanied, as Counsellor, *Charles the Second*, who was then *Prince of Wales*, when his Father sent him to the West of *England*. He quitted that Island with him after the Ruin of his Party, and retired into that of *Jersey*, where he continu'd some time, and then

† *Mr. Le Clerc*, 'tis presumed, has an Eye to this Passage in the Preface.

That whereas the Fleet of *England* has been renowned thro' so many Ages, for the Honour and Service of this Kingdom, In these latter Days, by an unaccountable Improvidence, our Care has been more industriously applyed to the raising great Numbers of Land-Forces, than in maintaining and supporting the Glorious Ancient Bulwarks of our Country, and when we have to do with an Enemy whom we so far excell in Strength at Sea, that with a little more than ordinary Application, we might hope to restrain his Exorbitant Power by our Naval Expeditions, we have employed our greatest Industry, and a vast Expence, to Attack him by Land, in that part, where, by the Strength of his numerous Garrisons, he must be, for many Years at least, Invulnerable. But it is to be hoped, the Great Allies themselves, to whom we doubt not the English Nation wishes all Happiness and Prosperity, as being bound up with them in the same Interest, will at last be sensible, that this Kingdom cannot be useful to the Common Cause, in any other way so much as at Sea, &c.

Part I. of the Earl of Clarendon's History. 3

then went with the Prince into *France*, and the *Low-Countries*; from whence he was sent into *Spain*, in quality of Embassador, after the Death of *Charles* the First. He returned into *France*, and followed *Charles* the Second to *Aix la Chapelle*, *Cologne*, and the *Low-Countries*. He was there made Lord High Chancellor of *England*; whither he returned in 1660, with the King, who afterwards made him Earl of *Clarendon*. He acquitted himself of the Office of Chancellor for above Seven Years with great Capacity. About that time *Charles* the Second began to Quarrel with his Parliament; and the Chancellor being suspected, as 'tis said, of having given the King Advice contrary to the Interests of the *English* Nation, and, among others, of having counsell'd him to make over *Dunkirk* to *France* for a Sum of Money, of which that Prince stood in need; his Master abandon'd him to satisfy the Malcontents. The Chancellor was oblig'd to lay down his Office, and even to pass the Sea, into that Kingdom (*France*), where he found more Repose than at Home. The Author of the Preface imputes his Disgrace to the Intrigues of the *Roman* Catholicks and the Ladies; because he acted directly against them. He Died some time after, and left this History to be Printed when it should be found convenient. As he therein speaks of things which happen'd in his time, and describes, naturally enough, the Faults and Ill Conduct of a great many Men who were not all Dead, or whose Descendants might take Offence at what he related; He believed, with reason, that it was proper to preserve this History for a Posterity somewhat more remote. It is at length come out, about 40 Years after the Restoration of *Charles* the Second. They who publish'd it, Own in the Preface, that there are divers things in it which are related differently from what are to be found in other Authors: But they observe that it was likewise possible for those Authors not to be so well inform'd in things as our Chancellor. To undertake to prove him false, it would be necessary to produce Authentick Acts, or Matters of indubitable Fact, such as cou'd not be reconcil'd with what he relates.

There are but Two things that can be objected to this History: One is, that the Author was extremely Zealous for the King's Party, and that the Passion (tho' otherwise very lawful) which he had for the Service of his Prince,

may

may have caused him to give too odious a Turn to the Conduct of the opposite Side; and on the other hand, a too favourable one to the Actions of the King; without perceiving it, and without having any settled Design of betraying the Truth. The other thing is, that speaking often of himself, and of Affairs on which he had given Advice, or wherein he had been employed, he always represents himself, (perhaps thro' Inadvertency,) extremely Sage, Reserv'd, and Circumspect; and often gives ill Ideas of the King's other Servants, either as to their Understanding or Management.

Self-Love, from which no Person is exempt, does so imperceptibly deceive, that we imagine sometimes we are only writing a History, when we are in effect pleading our own Cause before Posterity. There is ever a great deal of Difference between a Plea and a disinterested Narration; 'tis with Difficulty a Man is brought to accuse himself, and we insensibly give an Advantageous Turn to every thing we do, and every thing we say; of which a manifest Example is seen in the Commentaries of *Cæsar*, and in most Memoirs which Great Men have left of their Lives. They almost all of 'em inform Posterity of no more, than is consistent with their own Reputation it shou'd know, without making any Mention of their own proper Defects or Weaknesses. But it must be confess'd, our Chancellor was, at the Bottom, of the Honest Side; that he was a very Ingenious, and as I believe, a Sincere Man. If he may be reproached with some things, they are Faults from which no body is intirely free. When he speaks of the War, which the Parliament, and afterwards *Cromwell*, made upon the States General, he do's not express himself with Exactness enough, as will be seen by our Extract. It seems as if he did not love this Republick, because She did not openly declare for King *Charles* the First; besides, he says nothing concerning the Change of Religion in the Duke of *York* (afterwards his Son-in-Law;) many People have believed the same thing of King *Charles* the Second, and there have been published † some Writings of his Hand, where he Espouses the part of the *Romish* Church, in whose Sentiments it is averr'd he dyed. It is difficult to believe our Chancellor knew nothing of all this;

† See the Bibliotheque Univ. Tom. I. Art. 7.

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this ; but as it was a thing that might have prejudiced these Princes, and his own Family, if he had mention'd it, he apparently did not believe he ought to take notice of it. 'Tis easily pardon'd him ; but one would not forgive such an Omission in any who shou'd at this Day undertake to write the same History. This Fact has had such remarkable Consequences, that it wou'd be a Capital Fault to omit it ; but our Historian could not foresee what might happen after his Death.

It may be likewise said, that this History has sometimes rather the Air of *Memoirs* than of a *History* ; because the Author is too particular in the *Detail* of things of small Importance, and which concern himself or some other private Men ; and on the contrary, gives only an Abridgment of what regards the Publick. This will be especially observed in what he speaks of the Years wherein the King was in Banishment, and of his own Embassy into *Spain* ; But as the Author was not present at what pass'd in *Great Britain* at that time, he was not so well inform'd thereof as if he had been there ; So that he could not give so large an Account of 'em, as of things he had Seen ; Beside, I don't believe it was his Design to write a General and Exact History ; because in some places he testifies that he only Touches certain things for want of Information ; and of others he cou'd not resolve with himself to give a particular Description, as when he speaks of the Trial of *Charles* the First, and of his Death. He expatiates a great deal more upon what pass'd in *England* whilst he was there, (because he had a Part in the Councils) than when he went out of it, altho' he could have informed himself exactly of every thing after he was returned. It seems that he wrote good part of this History, in course, as Things happened ; and 'tis seen, that he often speaks of *Charles* the First as living, which shews he had then begun to compose that Work ; He might afterwards have review'd those Places, but he had probably his Reasons not to do it, or believed he needed not to give himself the Trouble of it. No body will quarrel with him upon that Score ; but I fancy there are but few Readers who will not wish he had taken more Care to set down the Dates of every thing he mentions ; Which would not have been difficult to him, and which is at present troublesome to those who read

read his History: He often marks the Month, and the Day of the Month, without having before said one Word of the Year; There is no knowing sometimes what Year he is in, but by the Sequel, nor then, without a great deal of Attention. It is strange, that a Man who had so much Sense and Reading as our Chancellor, and who wrote, as he says at the beginning, for *Posterity*, shou'd not think it an inexcusable Negligence in History, not to specify the Years but only as it were by Accident. The Connexion of Events requires it so necessarily, that without this 'tis impossible well to comprehend it, especially if one compares these Events with those that are found in other Histories of the same time. They who have given us this Edition in Two different Forms, wou'd have oblig'd the Publick by supplying this Defect, in putting at least the Year on the Top of the Pages, or in the Margin; this was not difficult to do in *England*, where, besides the Publick Acts, they have other Authors who have written Histories of those times, from whence might be drawn the Dates, which cannot be gather'd from our Author, and which it is difficult for Foreigners to supply.

This puts me in mind of the Memoirs of an Author, who was in the opposite Party; I mean those of *Edmond Ludlow*, one of the Judges of *Charles the First*, Printed in 1699, in Three Volumes in Octavo; the Years are not set down there neither, but by chance; tho' he often makes mention of the Days of the Month and Week; as if it had been material to know that such a thing happen'd (for Example) on a *Monday* or a *Friday*, and to no purpose to shew the Year; whereas in a short space of Time, the Dates of the most considerable Events are forgotten, or are at least unknown to the succeeding Generation; except to Men of Reading, or who have had a particular Attention to these sort of things.

Since I have mention'd *Ludlow*, it will not be impertinent to say that this Author is of Infinite Use in discovering the Truth of my Lord *Clarendon's* Narrative; because, tho' he is intirely opposite, with regard to the Justice of the Cause and of the Motives of both Sides, he nevertheless agrees in principal Facts, and even in things which render'd his Party Odious: Thus he owns that the *Independents* and violent Republicans wou'd not suffer any Peace to be made with the King after the War was begun;

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gun; and that those People cou'd not be satisfied without the Death of that Prince. He agrees likewise, that the Parliament's Orders to erect a Court of Justice, to Try the King, cou'd not have been obtained, if the Army had not by force excluded from that Assembly those who were opposite to it. These are Two Facts, which, in good Morality and Politicks, render culpable, every thing the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* did against King *Charles* the First. There are besides in *Ludlow* a great many things, especially concerning what was Transacted among the King's Enemies in *Ireland*, and under the Government of *Cromwell*, which are not to be found so fully, or not at all in our Historian; As there are a great many things in the latter touching the Reign of *Charles* the First, before the Year 1641, and what happen'd afterwards among that Prince's Servants, which are not to be found in the other. All the Proceedings, the Remonstrances, and Ordinances of Parliament, are intirely, or abstractedly, with the Conduct of the adverse Side, and the King's Answers, in our Author, who had great Share therein; the Fortune which *Charles* the Second met with Out of his Kingdom is likewise to be found there at full length, and is what is not to be met with elsewhere.

The Style of this History is much more Labour'd than that of *Ludlow*, and the Chancellor's manner of Delivery much more extended. There are some People who think it a little tedious, and indeed it appears so when one begins to read this History, because we are impatient to see the Principal Events, but we find afterwards that this Exactness is not useless. Without this it were impossible well to understand the Designs and the Artifices of the Parliament, or to conceive how the King defended himself against that Assembly. History consists not only in Facts, such as Invasions, Battles, Victories, Defeats, and things of the like Nature, but also in Intrigues, Negotiations, Treaties, Representations and Writings. It may be even said these latter Pieces are the Soul of History; and that the Operations of War are no more than the Body, since the latter flow from the former. The Disposition of Mens Minds appears by the first; and 'tis upon this Disposition that all Actions depend; so that the Remonstrances and Declarations made on both sides, cannot be looked upon as any other than Pieces very Essential to the History of our Chancellor. Such

Such as wou'd have History to be a plain Recounting of Passages, which the Historian shou'd leave the Reader to Judge of, will not relish the Method of our Chancellor, who frequently makes long Lessons to the Kings, and to the People of *Great Britain*. For my part, I confess I am of his Taste, and that his Political Remarks please me no less than his Narration. This seems to me to be the true Use of History, and that the Historian ought to assist his Readers in it.

There is also another thing peculiar to him, at least he indulges more to it than any known Historian; and that is, the Characters he gives of the chief Personages who appear upon the Stage, before he enters into the History of their Conduct, and sometimes in making mention of their Death. If these Characters be true, as the Actions of those Men incline us to believe they are; it must be own'd, our Author knew how to draw to the Life, and that *Salsuft* has not much better succeeded in the Characters so cry'd up, which are found in what is left us of his History. I shall instance in some of 'em hereafter.

I cannot undertake to give here an exact Extract of this History; it will be sufficient, after what I have said, to present a small Abridgment of it. I shall only enlarge a little more upon the Causes of the War.

In order well to comprehend the Rise of the Civil War of *Great Britain*, which concluded not but by the Death of *Charles the First*; it is necessary to go back a little higher, to the beginning of his Reign, or, if you will, to his very Journey into *Spain*, to fetch the *Infanta*, whom he propos'd to Marry. When we are Arrived at the beginning of the War, we will report what happen'd each Year, of greatest Moment.

King *James I.* dying the 27th of *March*, 1625, left to his Son *Charles I.* the Care of continuing the War begun with *Spain*; but left him no Money to push it. After a Maritime Enterprize upon *Cadiz*, which miscarry'd, as well as that on the Isle of *Ree*, upon a Quarrel with the Crown of *France*; *Charles*, unable to support that War, made Peace with the Two Crowns. He found himself so exhausted, that he was obliged to sell Lands belonging to the Royal Domaine, to create Peers for Money, and to do other things which nothing afterwards was able to repair.

The

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The King thereupon call'd Parliaments, and was oblig'd to dissolve them with Displeasure. He put an end to that of the Fourth Year of his Reign, by a Declaration, wherein he signify'd, That after having call'd so many Parliaments in vain, "He should account it Presumption "in those, who should take the Liberty to prescribe any "time to his Majesty for Parliaments.

This was Interpreted as if he had resolv'd to summon no more of 'em, and as if all those who shou'd testify their being of a contrary Sentiment to the King's Conduct, expos'd themselves to the Censure. These unreasonable and imprudent Dissolutions of Parliaments, were, according to my Lord *Clarendon*, the first Springs of those *Waters of Bitterness*, as he phrases it, that the Nation had in his time Tasted. The Court conceiv'd an ill Opinion of the People, from the Passion that was observ'd in some Members of Parliament; and the People began to distrust the Court, because of the bad Counsels that were given by some Courtiers, whom they had no reason to think well of. The King had the Misfortune of having those about him, who maliciously drew upon him the hatred of his Subjects, and who render'd the People suspected to him.

The Dissolution of these Parliaments, was attributed, either to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was then Almighty at Court, or to the Lord *Weston*, at that time Lord High Treasurer of *England*; because these Parliaments had made some Preparations to Impeach them, when they were Dissolv'd. The Protection, which the King granted to these Lords, was very prejudicial to himself, because 'twas deem'd that he obstructed the Course of Justice, in their Favour; and advantageous to the Parliament, who by this means appear'd able to Ruin those they had a mind to, since the Sovereign Power could not resist them, but by stopping the most Lawful Proceedings.

But one cannot wonder at this Conduct of the King, nor at other Mistakes which he committed afterwards, if one carefully reads the Characters our Author gives of the Chief Men of the Court, who were by no means fit to serve either their Country or their Prince.

See here part of what he says of the Duke of *Buckingham*. "Never any Man in any Age, nor I believe in "any Country or Nation, rose in so short a time to so "much Greatness of Honour, Fame, and Fortune, upon
C no

no other Advantage or Recommendation, than of the Beauty and Gracefulness of his Person. He was a younger Son of Sir George Villiers, of Brooksby, in the County of Leicesters; a Family of an ancient Extraction, even from the time of the Conquest, and Transported then with the Conqueror out of Normandy, where the Family has still remain'd, and still continues with Lustre. After Sir George's first Marriage, in which he had Two or Three Sons, and some Daughters, who shar'd an ample Inheritance from him; by a second Marriage with a Lady of the Family of the Beaumonts, he had this Gentleman, and Two other Sons, and a Daughter, who all came afterwards to be rais'd to great Titles and Dignities. George, the eldest Son of the second Bed, was, after the Death of his Father, by the singular Affection and Care of his Mother, who enjoy'd a good Jointure in the Account of that Age, well brought up; and for the Improvement of his Education, and giving an Ornament to his hopeful Person, he was by her sent into France, where he spent Two or Three Years in attaining the Language, and in learning the Exercises of Riding and Dancing; in the last of which he excell'd most Men, and return'd to England by the time he was Twenty One Years Old.

King James Reign'd at that time; and though he was a Prince of more Learning and Knowledge than any other of that Age, and really delighted more in Books, and in the Conversation of Learn'd Men, yet of all wise Men living, he was the most delighted and taken with Handsome Persons, and with Fine Clothes. He began to be weary of his Favourite, the Earl of Somerset, who was the only Favourite that kept that Post so long, without any publick Reproach from the People; but by the Instigation and Wickedness of his Wife, he became at least privy to a horrible Murder, that expos'd him to the utmost Severity of the Law, (the Poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury;) upon which, both he and his Wife were condemn'd to Dye, after a Trial by their Peers, and many Persons of Quality were Executed for the same.

Whilst this was in Agitation, and before the utmost Discovery was made, Mr. Villiers appear'd in Court, and drew the King's Eyes upon him. There were enow in the Court,

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‘ Court, sufficiently angry and incensed against *Somerset*,
‘ for being what themselves desir’d to be ; and especially
‘ for being a *Scots* Man, and ascending in so short a time,
‘ from being Page, to the Height he was then at ; to
‘ contribute all they could to promote the one, that
‘ they might throw out the other, which being easily
‘ brought to pass, by the proceeding of the Law upon his
‘ afore said Crime, the other found very little Difficulty in
‘ rendering himself Gracious to the King, whose Nature
‘ and Disposition was very flowing in Affection towards
‘ Persons so adorn’d ; insomuch, that in a few Days af-
‘ ter his first Appearance in Court, he was made Cup-
‘ bearer to the King, by which he was of course, to be
‘ much in his Presence, and so admitted to that Conver-
‘ sation and Discourse, with which that Prince always
‘ abounded at his Meals.

‘ His Inclinations to his new Cup-bearer, dispos’d him
‘ to administer frequent Occasions of discoursing of the
‘ Court of *France*, and the Transactions there, with
‘ which he had been so lately acquainted, that he could
‘ pertinently enlarge on that Subject, to the King’s great
‘ Delight, and to the gaining the Esteem and Value of
‘ all the Standers by to himself ; which was a thing the
‘ King was well pleased with. He acted very few Weeks
‘ on this Stage, when he mounted Higher, and being
‘ Knighted, without any other Qualification, he was at
‘ the same time made Gentleman of the Bed Chamber,
‘ and Knight of the Order of the Garter ; and in a short
‘ time (very short for such a prodigious Ascent) he was
‘ made a Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquis, and
‘ became Lord High Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden
‘ of the Cinque Ports, Master of the Horse, and entirely
‘ dispos’d of all the Graces of the King ; in conferring
‘ all the Honours and Offices of Three Kingdoms, without
‘ a Rival: In dispensing whereof, he was guided more
‘ by the Rules of Appetite, than of Judgment, and so
‘ exalted almost all of his own numerous Family and
‘ Dependants, whose greatest Merit was their Alliance
‘ to him ; which equally offended the ancient Nobility,
‘ and the People of all Conditions, who saw the Flow-
‘ ers of the Crown every Day Fading and Wither’d ;
‘ whilst the Demesnes and Revenue thereof, were sacri-
‘ fic’d to the enriching a private Family, (how well soever

‘ Originally Extracted) scarce ever heard of before in the
 ‘ Nation, and the Expences of the Court so Vast and
 ‘ Unlimited, that they had a sad Prospect of that Poverty
 ‘ and Necessity, which afterwards befell the Crown, al-
 ‘ most to the Ruin of it.

‘ Many were of Opinion, that King *James* before his
 ‘ Death, grew weary of this Favourite, and that if he
 ‘ had liv’d, he would have depriv’d him at least of his
 ‘ large and unlimited Power: And this Imagination so
 ‘ prevail’d with some Men, as the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*,
 ‘ the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*,
 ‘ and other Gentlemen of Name, though not in so high
 ‘ Stations, that they had the Courage to withdraw from
 ‘ their absolute Dependance on the Duke, and to make
 ‘ some other Essays, which proved to the Ruin of every
 ‘ one of ’em; there appearing no Mark or Evidence, that
 ‘ the King did really lessen his Affection to him, to the
 ‘ Hour of his Death: On the contrary, as he Created
 ‘ him Duke of *Buckingham* in his Absence, whilst he was
 ‘ with the Prince in *Spain*, so after their Return the Duke
 ‘ executed the same Authority, in conferring all Favours
 ‘ and Graces, and in revenging himself on those who
 ‘ had manifested any Unkindness towards him. And yet
 ‘ notwithstanding all this, if that King’s Nature had
 ‘ equally dispos’d him to pull down, as to Build and
 ‘ Erect; and if his Courage and Severity in punishing
 ‘ and reforming, had been as great as his Generosity and
 ‘ Inclination was to Oblige; it is not to be doubted, but
 ‘ that he would have withdrawn his Affection from the
 ‘ Duke, entirely before his Death.

By this may be seen, that King *James* lov’d People be-
 fore he knew ’em, and scatter’d his Favours more thro’
 Weakness, than a Generosity founded upon the Know-
 ledge of Merit in those to whom he was Bountiful: All
 Places being fill’d up by such a Man as the Duke, who
 would advance his Family at any rate, it may be believ’d
 every thing went ill enough, and that there was a very
 great Number of Murmurers.

The Duke having but small Experience, or little Regard
 to what might be useful to the Crown, did, as our Histo-
 rian informs us, induce Prince *Charles*, for whom a Mar-
 riage was Negotiating with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, to go
 and fetch her himself, and assisted him in extorting from
 the

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the King his Father, leave to make that Voyage; which prov'd as unfortunate, as it was unadvisedly enter'd upon. This whole Affair is very well described by our Author, and the Infirmary of the old King clearly shewn; together with the inexcusable Rashness of the young Favourite, who maintain'd with his whole Power, what he ought to have dissuaded with all his Might; and who was utterly ignorant how to go through so ill-form'd a Design with Success. Yet he was so fortunate, as to have more Thanks for bringing back the Prince in Safety from *Spain*, than Reproaches for having expos'd the Heir of the Crown to so dangerous a Voyage.

The King at that time assembled a Parliament, who, upon the Report of the Prince and the Duke, thought fit that the Negotiation of Marriage with the *Infanta*, should be entirely broke off, and even a War made against *Spain*. They promis'd to give the King wherewithall to carry it on with Vigour; but their Performances were not answerable to their Promises.

King *James* being dead, *Charles I.* Succeeded him, and continu'd to the Duke of *Buckingham* the same Favour he had found with his Father; tho' formerly the Duke had not been very diligent in cultivating an Interest with the Son, who appear'd to have an Aversion for him. But *Buckingham* had so ingratiated himself with him, during the *Spanish* Journey, that he had wiped out of his Memory every thing that cou'd be to his Disadvantage.

The new King summon'd a Parliament, after his Accession to the Crown, according to Custom; to obtain some Subsidies, and the Continuance of certain Revenues, which were usually granted at that time to the Kings his Predecessors. But this Parliament was by no means favourable to him, and did not think themselves oblig'd to maintain the War, into which the King was already enter'd, against *Spain*. The Favourite's Actions were examin'd, and an ill turn given to every thing he had done. He manag'd it therefore with the King, so as to get him to Dissolve this Parliament, and then another, in his Behalf. Instead of Bending, and endeavouring to regain the Good-will of the People by a more cautious Conduct, there were a great many Men, among those who Oppos'd him, Disgraced, and put in Prison. The Court made use of new Methods to raise Money; which serv'd

serv'd the more to irritate the People, and which did not at all fill the King's Coffers. Many, who were not Peers of the Realm, were Imprison'd, with unheard of Circumstances, for refusing to Pay the Money, which the Court levy'd by extraordinary Ways. The Duke himself Spoke, and Did a great many things, that tended to make his Friends Odious, and to increase the Number of his Enemies to, whom he thus furnish'd the Means of Hurting him.

It was not enough to have Sought for a Catholic Wife for the King in *Spain*, there must be another look'd for in *France*, whom the Duke went to fetch, with extraordinary Magnificence and Expence. In the mean time the War with *Spain* continu'd, and, soon after, another with *France* was declar'd. The Fleet, which was to have surprized *Cadix*, being Ill Commanded, returned without having done any thing. It was refitted to make a Descent on the Isle of *Rhee*, wherein the Duke Commanded in Person; but with Ill Success. What was next done for the Deliverance of *Rochelle*, was as unprosperous. A short time afterwards, the Duke was wickedly assassinated by one *John Felton*, as our Author tells the Story, possess'd at first by a sort of Fanaticism, and by thinking he cou'd do nothing more serviceable to his Country, and pleasing to God.

See here the Character of the Duke of *Buckingham*, according to our Chancellor.

' This great Man was a Person of a Noble Nature and
' a Generous Disposition; and of such other Endowments
' as made him capable of being a great Favourite to a great
' King: He understood the Arts of a Court, and all the
' Learning that is profess'd there exactly well. By long
' Practice in Business under a Master that discours'd excel-
' lently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took
' much Delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced
' Favourite, who he knew would be always look'd on as
' the Workmanship of his own Hands, He had attain'd a
' quick Conception and Apprehension of Business; and
' had the Habit of speaking very Gracefully and Perti-
' nently; he was of a most flowing Courtesy and Affa-
' bility to all Men who made any Address to him, and
' so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough con-
' sider the Value of the Obligation, or the Merit of the
' Person

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Person he chose to oblige; from which, much of his Misfortune resulted. He was of a Courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his Actions, and in his Contest with particular Persons of the greatest Reputation; and especially in his whole Demeanour at the Isle of *Rhee*, both at the Landing, and upon the Retreat; in both which, no Man was more fearless or more ready to expose himself to the highest Dangers: His Kindness and Affection to his Friends was so Vehement, that they were as so many Marriages, for better and worse, and so many Leagues Offensive and Defensive, as if he thought himself obliged to love all his Friends, and to make War on all they were angry with, let the Cause be what it would; and it cannot be deny'd that he was an Enemy in the same Excess, and prosecuted those that he look'd on as his Enemies, with the utmost Rigour and Animosity, and was not easily induc'd to Reconciliation; and yet there were some Examples of his receding in that particular; and when he was in the highest Passion, he was so far from stooping to any Dissimulation, whereby his Displeasure might be conceal'd and cover'd till he had attained his Revenge, (the low Method of Courts,) that he never endeavour'd to do a Man an Ill Office before he first told him what he was to expect from him.

The Author gives some remarkable Instances of this, which cannot be related, for fear of being too long. He afterwards proceeds upon the Duke's Character thus.

His single Misfortune, (which indeed was productive of many greater,) was, that he never made a Noble and Worthy Friendship with a Man so near his Equal, as frankly to advise him for his Honour and true Interest against the Current, or rather the Torrent of his Impetuous Passions, which was partly the Vice of the Time, when the Court was not replenish'd with great Choice of excellent Men, and partly the Vice of Persons who were most worthy to be apply'd to, and look'd on his Youth and his Obscurity before his Rise, as Obligations on him to gain their Friendship by extraordinary Applications; Then his Ascent was so quick, that it seem'd rather a Flight than a Growth; and he was such a Darling of Fortune, that he was at the Top before he had been well seen at the Bottom, and, as if he had been born

' a Favourite, he was Supreme the first Month he came to
 ' Court; and 'twas want of Confidence, not of Credit,
 ' that he had not all at first which he obtain'd afterwards:
 ' never meeting with the least Obstruction from his setting
 ' out, till he was as great as could be; so that he wanted
 ' Dependants before he thought he could want Coadjutors:
 ' Nor was he very fortunate in the Election of those De-
 ' pendants, very few of his Servants having been ever Qua-
 ' lified enough to assist and advise him; and they were in-
 ' tent only upon growing Rich under him, not on their
 ' Master's growing Good as well as Great; infomuch, as
 ' he was throughout his Fortune, a much wiser Man, than
 ' any Servant or Friend he had.

There are some who have thought this Picture of the
 Favourite, a very severe Satyr upon the Master who made
 choice of him, and in a few Weeks became himself (for all
 his reputed Skill in the Art of Reigning) dependant on a
 young Man, who at that time had nothing to recommend
 him but his Fine Person. 'Twas a strange Weakness in
 an experienc'd Prince, and who was above 30 Years Old,
 to bestow no longer any Favours, but according to the De-
 sires of a raw young Man, and afterwards to suffer himself
 to be Lorded over by him, in things of the greatest Im-
 portance; as appears by the History of the Journey the
 Prince of *Wales* took into *Spain*. The King cou'd not be
 very ignorant of the Oversight of his Favourite, who,
 being intoxicated with his good Fortune, did every thing
 according to his Fancy, and laid the Foundation of his
 Successor's Ruin; But if he did not see them, we must
 talk no more of his Penetration; or if he wou'd not apply
 any Remedy for what he saw, it must be allow'd he had a
 great deal of Folly for a Favourite, to whom he sacrific'd
 all things.

' However it be, (continues our Author,) if he had been
 ' so fortunate as to have had one Faithful Friend, who had
 ' been qualified with Wisdom and Integrity, That great
 ' Person wou'd have committed as few Faults, and done as
 ' Transcendent Worthy Actions as any Man who Shin'd
 ' in such a Sphere in that Age in *Europe*; for he was of
 ' an excellent Disposition, and of a Mind very capable
 ' of Advice and Counsel; he was in his Nature Pure and
 ' Candid, Liberal, Generous and Bountiful; Nor was it
 ' ever known that the Temptation of Money sway'd him

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to do an unjust or unkind thing : And tho' he left a great Estate to his Heirs, considering the vast Fortune he Inherited by his Wife, the sole Daughter and Heir of *Francis Earl of Rutland*, he ow'd no part of it to his own Industry or Sollicitation, but to the impatient Humour of two Kings his Masters, who wou'd make his Fortune equal to his Titles, and the one as much above other Men as the other was. And he consider'd it no otherwise than as theirs, and left it at his Death ingaged for the Crown, almost to the Value of it, as is touch'd upon before.

There are two Particulars which lye heaviest on his Memory ; either of them, aggravated by Circumstances, very important, and which administer frequent Occasions by their Effects to be remember'd. First, His engaging his old unwilling Master, and the Kingdom, in the War with *Spain*, (not to mention the bold Journey thither, or the Breach of that Match) in a time when the Crown was so poor, and the People more inclin'd to a bold Inquiry how it came to be so, than Dutiful to provide for its Supply : And this only on private Animosities between him and the Duke of *Olivarez*, the sole Favourite in that Court ; and those Animosities from very trivial Provocations : Which flow'd indeed from no other Fountain, than that the Nature and Education of *Spain* restrain'd Men from that Gaiety and Frolick Humour, to which the Prince's Court was more inclin'd ; and *Olivarez* had been heard to censure very severely the Duke's Familiarity, and want of Respect towards the Prince, (a Crime Monstrous to the *Spaniards*) and had said, *That if the Infanta did not, as soon as she was Marry'd, suppress that License, she wou'd her self quickly undergo the Mischief of it.* Which gave the first Allarm to the Duke, to apprehend his own Ruin in that Union ; and accordingly to use all his Endeavours to break and prevent it : And from that time, he took all Occasions to Quarrel with and Reproach the Conde Duke.

Our Author gives sensible Proofs of this, which I omit, to avoid Tedium ; but which plainly evidence, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was a Hot Man, and had nothing in view but the Satisfaction of his Passions, without troubling himself about Consequences. He shews

however, that it wou'd be wrong to say, He was fall'n in Love with the Dutches *de Olivarez*, who at that time, was neither Handsome nor Young.

'The other Particular (continues our Author) by which he involv'd himself in so many fatal Intricacies, from which he cou'd never extricate himself, was, his running violently into the War with *France*, without any kind of Provocation, and upon a particular Passion very unwarrantable. In his Embassy in *France*, where his Person and Presence were wonderfully admir'd and esteem'd, and in which he appear'd with all the Lustre the Wealth of *England* could adorn him with, and outshin'd all the Bravery that Court cou'd dress it self in, and over-acted the whole Nation in their own most peculiar Vanities; he had the Ambition to fix his Eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent Affection to a Lady of very Sublime Quality, † (the *Queen of France*) and to pursue it with most importunate Addresses; in so much, as when the King (*Lewis 13.*) had brought his Sister as far as he meant to do, and deliver'd her into the Hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into *England*, the Duke in his Journey, after the Departure from that Court, took a Resolution once more to make a Visit to that Great Lady, which he believed he might do with much Privacy; but it was so easily discover'd, that Provision was made for his Reception; and if he had pursued his Attempt, he had been without doubt Assassinated: Of which he had only so much Notice, as serv'd him to decline the Danger; but he swore in the instant, *That he wou'd See, and Speak with that Lady, in spite of the Strength and Power of France.* And from that time, he took all the Ways he cou'd to Embroil the two Nations; and which was worse than all this, he took great Pains to lessen the King's Affection towards his young Queen, being exceeding jealous, lest her Interest might be of force enough to cross his other Designs: And in this Stratagem he so far swerv'd, from the Instinct of his Nature and his proper Inclination, that he, who was compounded of all the Elements of Affability and Courtesy towards all kinds of People, had brought himself to a Habit of Neglect, and even of Rudeness towards

† Mr. le Clerc's Parenthesis.

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‘the Queen. One Day when he unjustly apprehended, that she had shew’d some Disrespect to his Mother, in not going to her Lodging at an Hour she had intended to go, and was hinder’d by a mere Accident; He came into her Chamber in much Passion, and after some Expostulations rude enough, told her, *She shou’d Repent it.* Her Majesty answering with some Quickness; he reply’d insolently to her, *That there had been Queens in England, who had Lost their Heads.* And it was universally known, that during his Life, the Queen never had any Credit with the King, with reference to any publick Affairs; and so cou’d not divert the Resolution, of making a War with *France.*

Whatever our Historian says in praise of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Conduct shews, he was unworthy of the Rank he held. Such Grand Faults reflected even upon the King, who cou’d bear with Insolencies of so high a Nature. This Good Prince was too easie, in suffering himself to be led by those who had the Honour to approach him. The Author relates a strange Story concerning a Prediction of the Duke’s Death, which may be read in the Original. I have been something the fuller upon his Person, because it was He who began chiefly to give an ill Opinion of the Court to the People of *England*, whose very Hatred he drew on himself; and because it shews the Danger a Prince is expos’d to, by suffering himself to be govern’d by one Man. Our Chancellor gives the Characters of the principal Ministers of *Charles I.* after the Duke’s Death. These Characters deserve to be read in the Original, for I have not time to give ’em. By them it will be seen, that the King had taken no great Care in chusing his Ministers; of whom, the major Part were not over-capable of serving him well; as was but two apparent, by the Misfortunes which besel him.

The Duke, before he was Assassinated, perceiving great Reflections were made upon several Persons who had been preferr’d to considerable Benefices; Committed the Presentation thereof to *William Laud*, at that time Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, and soon after Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The Author assures he discharged this Employment very well, but that he did not succeed at Court; because he wanted the Suppleness necessary in so great a Post. He was a Man of great Honesty and Integrity, and aim’d at

nothing but to satisfy his Conscience, without caring for any thing else; besides, he had no Friends, but those whom his pious Life and down-right Simplicity had acquir'd him: This was not enough to keep a Man up in so licentious a time as that; when, according to our Historian, there reign'd so great a Depravation of Morals. It is, however, surprizing enough, that under two Kings, whose Manners were very regular, the Court shou'd be so corrupt; and that there shou'd be so few able Men Form'd under the first of those Kings, who was so much talk'd of, for Wisdom and Knowledge.

To resume the Thread of the History; the King having Dissolv'd, as hath been said, several Parliaments, without being willing to hear speak of another, and thereby disoblig'd the People, made Peace with *France* and *Spain*, with the Advice of his Council; who saw he was not able to carry on the War. Afterwards the Council Establish'd the Duties, call'd, *TONNAGE* and *POUNDAGE*, and others of the like kind upon Merchandize; and caus'd 'em to be levy'd, tho' the Parliament had refus'd to grant 'em: They likewise laid new Impositions, and much greater than the former, on Trade; Obsolete Laws were reviv'd, to draw Money from the Subjects. The Author, among others, makes mention of a Law, call'd, *The Law of Knighthood*; the Execution whereof, tho' it had a Foundation of Right, was very grievous, in the manner 'twas impos'd. It were to be wish'd, our Historian had explain'd what it was, in a few Words, since there are great Numbers of People who don't know it; not only beyond Sea, but even in *England*: He adds, that a great many Projects were set up; of which some were Ridiculous, others Scandalous, and all extreamly Burthenfome: 'The Envy and Reproach (adds he) came to the King, the Profit to other Men; insomuch, that of 200000*l.* drawn from the Subject by these Ways in a Year, scarce 1500 came to the King's Use or Account. To recompense the Damage the Crown sustain'd, by the Sale of the Old Lands, and by the Grant of New Penfions, the Old Laws of the Forrest were revived; by which, not only great Fines were impos'd, but great Annual Rents intended, and like to be settled by way of Contract: Which Burthen lighted most on Persons of Quality and Honour, who thought them-

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‘ selves above ordinary Oppressions; and were therefore
‘ like to remember it with more Sharpness. Lastly, for
‘ a Spring that shou’d have no bottom, and for an
‘ everlasting Supply of all occasions, a Writ was fram’d,
‘ in form of Law, and directed to the Sheriffs of every
‘ County of *England*, to provide a Ship of War for
‘ the King’s Service; and to send it amply Provided and
‘ Fitted, by such a Day, to such a Place: And with that
‘ Writ was sent to each Sheriff Instructions, That in-
‘ stead of a Ship he shou’d Levy upon his County such a
‘ Sum of Money, and return the same to the Treasurer
‘ of the Navy, for his Majesty’s Use; with Direction, in
‘ what manner he shou’d proceed against such as re-
‘ fused. And from hence that Tax had the Denomina-
‘ tion of *Ship-Money*; by which, for some Years, really
‘ accrued the yearly Sum of 200000 *l.* to the King’s Co-
‘ fers. It was in truth the only Project that was account-
‘ ed to his own Service. And after it had been exacted
‘ for about four Years, at last upon the Refusal of *John*
‘ *Hambden*, a private Gentleman, to Pay 20 or 30 Shil-
‘ lings for his share, and upon his pretending this Tax was
‘ illegal, the Affair was debated publicly before all the
‘ Judges of *England*; and by the greater part of ’em the
‘ King’s Right to impose, Asserted; and the Tax adjudged
‘ Lawful. Which Judgment, however, serv’d more to
‘ augment *Hambden’s* Credit, than to establish the King’s
‘ Authority.

For the better Support of these Impositions, the King
enlarg’d the Jurisdiction of the Council-Table and Star-
Chamber; the Author thereupon shews that all this was
done contrary to the Rules of good Politicks, and was
very prejudicial to the King. There are very good Lessons
on this Subject, given by our Author; for ’tis his Practice
to point out with Care the Errors of the King’s Party, for
the Instruction of Posterity. He was of Opinion, that if
this Imposition had been demanded by way of *Loan*, un-
der the notion of Necessity, or a Prospect of Danger, Men
wou’d not have complain’d of it. But what gave most
Offence, was, endeavouring to make that pass for Law,
by means of the Judges, which was not so in it self.
However it be, when once Kings may impose Duties, as
they think fit, there’s an end of Liberty. The Money they
exact from their People gives ’em means enough to make
them-

themselves dreaded, by keeping up Armies, ready to punish those who shall begin to stir: It is not therefore to be wonder'd at, if these Impositions of *Charles I.* startled the greatest part of the *English* Nation, whose Consent was very Fatal to him.

They were likewise displeas'd, that some few of the Judges shou'd take upon 'em the Power of deciding the Legality of a Tax; for if this Practice cou'd be introduc'd, Packt Judges might explain all Laws according to the King's Pleasure, and grant him all the Power he cou'd desire, which wou'd render Parliaments of no use; nor did the King's Enemies fail to make a great Noise about it, as may be seen by *Ludlow's Memoirs*.

And yet my Lord *Clarendon* observes, that in the midst of these Complaints, from the Fourth Year of *Charles I.* to the Meeting of the last Parliament, *i. e.* for above Twelve Years, the Three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, enjoy'd more Happiness and Tranquillity, than they had done under the Reign of *Elizabeth*, or even that of *James*. Perhaps this might be rather owing to the Industry of the People, than to the Wisdom of the Government; unless you will have it that they were more oblig'd to the Court for the *Mischief it did not*, than for the *Good it did*.

The Author bestows infinite Praises on the Clergy of those Times; and prefers to all the Books of Controversy which had been written from the Reformation to his Day, that of Archbishop *Laud*, touching his Conference with the Jesuit *Fisher*, and that of *Chillingworth*, where he shews that the Religion of the Protestants, is the assured way to arrive at Salvation: These Two Books are indeed very good, especially the Second, which is one of the most Judicious and Moderate Books of Controversy that ever was written.

The King still enjoy'd a great Tranquillity, when he made his first Progress † into *Scotland*, where he was very well receiv'd: But even then, People cou'd not but perceive the Seeds of Discontents which grew up afterwards.

Altho' there were Persons who bore the Name of Bishops in *Scotland*, they had but very little Authority, and

† In the Year 1633.

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depended on an Assembly, purely *Presbyterian*. There was no Liturgy, nor any Ceremonies in the publick Service. People are perswaded King *James I.* had a Design to Establish the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* in that Kingdom; but that some Persons in whom he trusted, happening to dye, he was oblig'd to put off that Design to another time. King *Charles*, his Son, who was very Zealous for Episcopal Government and the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, took upon him to execute his Father's Project; he carried *Laud* with him, at that time Bishop of *London*; and who Preached before him at *Edinburgh* with great Applause, in favour of Conformity. The *Scots* did by no means seem averse to it, but the King did not think it was yet time to bring this Affair into Agitation; the Bishops of *Scotland* themselves, who were most Interested in it, omitted nothing that might retard the Execution. They were for having something changed in the Liturgy, under pretence, that the Version of the Bible which is used therein is not a good one, and that the Kingdom of *Scotland*, jealous of the Advantages of *England*, wou'd rather admit of a New Liturgy, than the Old one; which by its Introduction, wou'd seem to subject their Nation to that of *England*. Tho' these Reasons satisfied neither the King nor *Laud*, yet they could not think of a better Expedient to compass their Design, than by leaving to some few *Scotch* Bishops the Care of forming a new Liturgy.

The King however to leave in *Scotland* a Monument of his Affection toward the Clergy, erected *Edinburgh*, which depended upon the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, into a *Bishoprick*; and purchas'd Lands of the Duke of *Lennox*, for the Subsistence of the Bishop. † He nominated to this *Bishoprick* *William Forbes*, who enjoy'd it but a very short time; he was it seems a well meaning Man, but his Sentiments were extreemly moderate with regard to some Opinions of the *Romish* Church. This may be seen by a Posthumous Book he left; which I have mention'd in the *Bibliotheque Choisie*, Tome 5. Art. 9. If *Forbes's* Sentiments had been known at that time in *Scotland*, his Election might have done the King some Prejudice. Our Historian does not name him at all; but he observes, that

† Mr. Le Clerc's Observation,

that

that Prince did not act prudently enough, in making the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* Chancellor of the Kingdom; and in bestowing other Secular Employments on Four or Five Bishops, contrary to the Custom of that Country. This expos'd them to the Envy of the *Scotch Nobility*; and some among 'em, for want of Education or Discretion, brought upon themselves the Hatred of their Nation, by their Conduct in publick Debates.

The King being returned from *Scotland*, towards the end of *August*, 1633, *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* died. This Prelate was not over-worthy of that See, if the Character our Author gives of him be true. He was a Man of Morosity and Soweriness, which in that time was called *Gravity*, according to our Historian. He was not very zealous for Episcopal Government; and if Men were only known to be Enemies to the *Romish Church*, 'twas enough, to recommend 'em to his Favour. Thus he neglected the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which suffer'd mightily during the time he was Archbishop.

The King instantly bestow'd the Place on the Bishop of *London*, (*William Laud*,) already spoken of, who was put into Possession of that Arch-Bishoprick about the end of *September*. He was a Man, (as has been said) of an Exemplary Life, but a little too sharp and hasty in his Expressions; which caused him not to be belov'd by the People. He believ'd, Innocence and Integrity, were sufficient Qualities to secure him from all manner of Danger. While he was a Scholar at *Oxford*, in *St. John's College*, and when he was President of it, he was always persecuted, says the Author, by the *Calvinian Faction*, which was then very powerful; and who were wont, adds he, to call every man they didn't love, *Papist*; by this they created him many Troubles and Vexations, and so far suppress'd him, that tho' he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of for an Excellent Preacher, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, till the Vigour of his Age was past.

After that, he was made Bishop of *St. Davids*, then of *Bath and Wells*, next of *London*, and at last Archbishop of *Canterbury*: 'When he came into this Authority, (says our Author) he retain'd, it may be, too keen a Memory of the ill Usage he had received from the opposite Party, and I doubt was so far transported with the same Passions, he had

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‘ had reason to complain of in his Adversaries ; that as they
‘ accus’d him of Popery, because he had some Doctrinal
‘ Opinions they liked not, tho’ they were nothing ally’d
‘ to Popery : So he entertain’d too much Prejudice to some
‘ Persons, as if they were Enemies to the Discipline of
‘ the Church, because they concurr’d with *Calvin* in some
‘ Doctrinal Points, when they abhor’d his Discipline, and
‘ reverenc’d the Government of the Church, and pray’d
‘ for the Peace of it, with as much Zeal and Fervency as
‘ any in the Kingdom ; as they made manifest in their
‘ Lives, and in their Sufferings, with it, and for it. He
‘ had from his first Entrance into the World, without any
‘ Disguise, or Dissimulation, declared his own Opinion of
‘ that *Classis* of Men, and as soon as it was in his Power,
‘ did all he could to hinder the Growth and Increase of
‘ that Faction ; and to restrain those who were inclin’d to
‘ do it, from doing the Mischief they desired to do.

His first Care was, after his Promotion to the Archbishoprick, to get his old Friend Dr. *Juxon* made Bishop of *London*.

It being now a Time of great Tranquillity in *England*, the Archbishop, zealous for the Church of *England*, and being vigorously supported by the King, thought he cou’d meet with no Opposition that wou’d hinder the Reformation he propos’d to himself to make.

But tho’ the Nation generally, as was said before, ‘ Was
‘ without any ill Talent to the Church, either in the Point
‘ of the Doctrine or the Discipline, yet they were not
‘ without a Jealousy, that Popery was not enough dis-
‘ countenanced, and were very averse from admitting any
‘ thing they had not been us’d to, which they call’d Inno-
‘ vation, and were easily perswaded any thing of that kind
‘ was but to please the Papists. Some Doctrinal Points in
‘ Controversy had been in the late Years agitated in the
‘ Pulpits, with more Warmth and Reflections than had
‘ us’d to be ; and thence the Heat and Animosity increased
‘ in Books *pro* and *con*, on the same Arguments. Most of
‘ the popular Preachers who had not look’d into the an-
‘ cient Learning, took *Calvin’s* Word for it, and did all
‘ they could to propagate his Opinion in those Points.
‘ They who Studied more, and were better vers’d in the
‘ Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils,
‘ and the Ecclesiastical Histories, with the same Heat and
‘ Passion

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'Passion in Preaching and Writing, defended the contrary.
 'But because in the late Dispute in the *Dutch Churches*,
 'those Opinions were supported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the
 'Divinity Professor in the University of *Leyden*, in *Hol-*
 'land, the latter Men we mention'd were called *Armini-*
 'ans, tho' many of 'em had never read a Word written by
 'Arminius.

† It may be so ; but 'tis hard to think that Learned Men
 shou'd not have read any of the Anti-Synodical Writings
 of the *Arminians*, and especially those of *Grotius* or *Episco-*
pius. This Affair made too great a Noise, and King
James interested himself therein too much, not to imagine
 that meer Curiosity wou'd have caus'd those Books to be
 read in *England*. Be it as it will, from that time they be-
 gan openly to Preach *Arminian* Opinions, upon Predesti-
 nation and Grace, and all Men of Learning have since em-
 brac'd 'em as conformable to all Ecclesiastical Antiquity
 before St. *Augustin*.

There happen'd at this time another Disorder, upon Ac-
 count of the Communion-Tables in Churches. Arch-
 bishop *Abbot*, and other remiss Prelats, had taken no
 Care to keep the Churches in Repair, which were in so
 wretched a Condition, that they cou'd hardly be used in
 bad Weather. The Communion-Tables stood in the mid-
 dle of the Churches, and were applied to other Uses. The
 Archbishop thought fit, that, after the Churches were re-
 pair'd and clean'd, the Communion-Tables shou'd be re-
 moved, and fixed at the upper end of the Chancel, and
 inclos'd with a Rail. Tho' this Alteration was not dis-
 pleasing to grave and intelligent Persons, who lov'd Order
 and Decency, yet every thing being to be done at the
 Peoples Charge, and there not being every where prudent
 Ministers to make 'em understand these things as they
 ought, it occasion'd Disorders and Murmurings in several
 Places. Books were written for and against this new
 Practice, and even *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, attack'd
 in Print these Alterations of the Archbishop, which he
 called *Innovations*.

Ecclesiastical Canons were made in the Convocation,
 which the Author mentions transiently in several Places.
 It were to be wish'd, especially for the sake of Foreigners,

† *Monſieur Le Clerc's Observation.*

that

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that he had at least recounted the principal ones, since People were afterwards offended at 'em, as he himself testifies, and pretended that the Clergy had no Right to make Canons, and cause 'em to be executed without Consent of Parliament. *Laud* wou'd have 'em observed without heeding what the World did or cou'd say against them. If Faults or Vices deserved to be taken Notice of, and to be detected, he had no respect at all to Persons who might be guilty of them; there was no Favour or Connivance to be found with him; he would have the Discipline of the Church not only talk'd of, but felt by those who deserv'd it. He not only punished People of mean Condition, who had committed any thing against the Canons, but even Persons of the highest Quality; who thinking themselves above Censure, and not carefully enough concealing their Disorders, were cited before the High Commission Court, as 'twas called, and Condemned without Mercy, in Fines, which were to be apply'd to the Repair of *St. Paul's Church*. People of Condition, by this Method, saw themselves as it were level'd with the Vulgar; and besides this Mortification, they did not easily pay their Fines, which were exacted with a great deal of Rigour.

The High Treasurer of *England*, who was at that time *Earl of Portland*, happening to dye, the King put that Office into the Hands of Commissioners, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was made one of 'em; which still served to contract him more Hatred. He roughly supported all Propositions that were made for augmenting the King's Revenues, and in reviving old obsolete Laws for the King's Benefit, without having regard to any Remonstrances: But being open to Contradiction from the other Commissioners, who better understood these sort of things, he soon grew weary of it. To get rid of this Fatigue, he procur'd the King to create *William Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, Lord Treasurer, who was by no means fit for the Place. This added mightily to the Odium he was already loaded with, and which reflected even upon the Church; for, from that time, Bishops were look'd upon as a Gulph ready to swallow all the great Offices of the Kingdom; and People began to despise what they had till then esteem'd. In the mean time, the Archbishop believ'd he had by this means secur'd the Interest of the Church, and abated nothing of his ordinary Severity and vehement

Manner of speaking upon all Occasions, which was so natural to him, that he cou'd never give his Opinion of any thing without Emotion; He could not bear Contradiction, even in the Council, where all Men are equally free. This gave a Handle to his Enemies, to expose him to Laughter, after they had occasion'd him to commit some Mistake, thro' Passion and Precipitation. The Historian gives a remarkable Example of this, in the Story of the Lord Cottington, which may be read in the Original.

† The Author by this has made apparent, what it was that prejudic'd by degrees the People of *England* against the Court and Church, and which in the End produc'd very dismal Effects for the King, the Clergy, and the rest of the Kingdom. It must be own'd, he has not dissembled the Errors which the King, and those who advis'd him, were guilty of on this Occasion. But it were to be wish'd, that instead of relating all this, a little confusedly, and instead of supposing the Reader instructed in many things, which, 50 Years afterwards, are a great deal more Obscure, he had, *First*, made an Abridgment of the History of the Beginning of *Charles I.* Reign, Year by Year, without forgetting the Dates, as I said before, or what pass'd of greatest Moment in the Parliaments which he assembl'd. II. That he had more particularly explain'd certain things, which he supposes as known, which are not so; such as, for Example, the setting up of this *High Commission*, mention'd before, and the Canons made by the Convocation, under *Charles I.* III. That he had even gone back a little higher, and had also describ'd without forgetting the Dates of any thing, the End of *James I.* Reign; for from that time the Court began to be complain'd of. 'Tis certain, that it was ill taken in this Prince, to think of Marrying his Son to a Catholic Princess; as appears by the Letters of *James Howell*, who liv'd in his time. If they who publish'd this History, had taken Care to supply these things as much as possible, by some Authentick Pieces added at the End, they had done the Publick a double Service. There are infinite Numbers of People, not only beyond Sea, but in *England*, who may stand in need of these Instructions.

† Mr. Le Clerc's Observation.

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I shall be more brief upon the following Books, where the Author enters upon the Narration of the History; and continues it down to the Year 1660. when *Charles* the Second was restor'd.

About two Years after King *Charles* the First's Return from *Scotland*, the Bishops of that Country brought him a Collection of Canons they had made, to reform divers Abuses that were introduced among 'em. The King referr'd the Consideration of these Canons, to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Norwich*. He afterwards approv'd of 'em. And issued out his Proclamation for the due Observation thereof in *Scotland*. A fatal Inadvertency was committed on this occasion, according to the judicious Remark of the Author. It was, That the Canons were not communicated to the Assembly of the Clergy of that Country, which, yet, was so strictly oblig'd to the Observation of 'em; Nor so much as seen by the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom, tho' it was almost impossible to introduce any new Discipline into that Church, which wou'd not in some measure interfere with, or trench upon the Laws of the Kingdom. But the *Scots* Bishops falsely imagin'd, that no body wou'd dare to oppose 'em in *Scotland*, if they were supported by the King's Authority; and made him believe, that they wou'd be very agreeable to the Nobility and People, without needing to expose 'em to be contradicted, for fear the Affair shou'd miscarry. It had likewise a very odd Appearance, that *Canons* should be publish'd before the *Liturgy* was prepared; when some of the Canons were principally for the Observation of the *Liturgy*: And that the Clergy shou'd be sworn to receive, what they had not seen, or knew the Contents of. Again, it cannot be look'd upon but as a Capital Fault, the Design of bluntly introducing Ceremonies, which, tho' innocent, might be accused of some Resemblance with those of the *Romish Church*, in a Country where great Part of the Religion consists, (as the Author says) *in an entire Detestation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be Antichrist, and perfectly hating the Persons of all Papists.* This same Distemper reign'd likewise as much in *England* it self, and in other Places; where *Divinity*, perfectly Speculative and Controversial, stood in need of a great Reformation to become conformable to the Gospel, and to good Sense, and useful to Human Society. People acted,

acted, as if, Not to be a Roman Catholic, and to embrace with Warmth some Speculative Tenets, very much Contested, and Subject to great Difficulties (not to say more) had been the Whole of Christianity. The *English* are oblig'd to Archbishop *Laud*, and some few others, for the Beginnings of this Reformation; and those Gentlemen were oblig'd for these Discoveries to the Remonstrants of *Holland*, and especially to *Episcopus*; tho' some Theologists of that Country, have affected to speak ill of him, for I know not what Reasons; which don't hinder 'em from owing to him the best of their Divinity. Before this Learned Man, whom I last named, there were very few Books of Divinity made in *England*, that deserv'd to be read.

The Canons (continues our Author) having been publish'd in *Scotland*, they were look'd upon as new Laws, establish'd by the sole Authority of the King, and made by some *Scots* Men, of whom the Nation had no good Opinion, and by some Strangers: So that it was thought no other, than a Subjection of *Scotland* to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence; which they were by no means of a Humour to do. There were, as the *Scots* believ'd, a great many things contrary to their Laws, and which concern'd all Conditions of Men. There were likewise some things, in some particular Canons, how rational soever in themselves, and how distant soever in their Words and Expressions from inclining to Popery; which yet gave Advantage to those, who were maliciously inclin'd, to say, *That a Door was open'd to Popery*; and it was impossible to bring those back to themselves, who were once possess'd with this Suspicion.

Some of these Canons gave the King an absolute and unlimited Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs; and imported, That Church-Men dying without Children, shou'd be oblig'd to give good Part of their Estates to the Church; and tho' they shou'd have Children, yet to leave somewhat to the Church, and for Advancement of Learning: That none shou'd receive the Sacrament but on their Knees: That no Person shou'd cover his Head in time of Divine Service: That no Clergyman shou'd pray *ex tempore*, but shou'd read the Liturgy, and other things which were new in *Scotland*.

Besides

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Besides this; to apply the old Terms of the Church; to mention the *Quatuor Tempora*, and restrain all Ordinations to those four Seasons; to have Baptismal Fonts and Tables for the Communion, in certain Places of the Church, and with certain Ornaments: To talk of Confession, which is look'd upon in *Scotland* as the Mark of Antichrist, and to injoin, That no Presbyter shou'd reveal any thing he shou'd receive in Confession, except in such Cases, where, by the Law of the Land, his own Life shou'd be forfeited; and other things that were to be subscribed, before Admission into Holy Orders; These were such Matters, as gave occasion to uneasy Minds, to accuse the King and Bishops of Popery.

Thus in the Year 1637, when they intended to read the Liturgy, for the first time, in the Cathedral Church of *Edinburgh*, the Dean, † who read it, was interrupted by the Clamours of the People; which was follow'd by a Show'r of Stones, Sticks, and Cudgels, that were thrown at his Head, without any Possibility of restraining the Tumult. Tho' no Person of Condition or Name appear'd, but that it was entirely done by the Rabble, the Bishops, instead of having Recourse to the Council, wrote directly to the King for Assistance. Mean while the Faction increased, the Women and Ladies declared themselves of it; the Bishops durst not appear in Publick, and they who undertook to protect 'em, were ill treated by the People. A General Assembly was call'd at *Edinburgh*, whither the Bishops were summon'd, and Excommunicated for not appearing: Then they united themselves, by subscribing a Covenant, by which those, who enter'd into it, bound themselves to extirpate Bishops. Great Numbers of People engag'd themselves in it; and wrote into all Parts, That there was a Design of establishing the Popish Religion in *Scotland*. They who disslik'd these Commotions, durst not make any Opposition, nor take the King's side against the People. That Prince had not found himself in this Perplexity, if he had not trusted to some Clergymen, indifferently qualify'd to carry on Affairs of such Consequence; which shou'd not have been prosecuted, but with the Consent at least of the Chief of

† 15 July.

the

the *Scots* Nation; and after having first sound'd their Minds: But they who advis'd the King, knew not how to do any thing, but with a high Hand. And he easily suffer'd himself to be surpriz'd by such Councils; which instead of increasing his Authority, entirely destroy'd it.

There being Money enough in the *Exchequer*, and the *Scots* Nation in no degree either lov'd or fear'd by the *English*, the King resolv'd to raise an Army to reduce *Scotland*: He made the Earl of *Arundel* his General; not that he understood War, but, as the Author says, for his *Negative* Qualities; he did not love the *Scots*; he did not love the *Puritans*; but his Rank was such, that no Man wou'd decline serving under him. The Earl of *Essex* was made Lieutenant-General; and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse.

This Army consisting of 6000 Horse, and about as many Foot, advanc'd in the Spring of the Year, 1639, towards the Borders of *Scotland*; and the King summon'd most of the Nobility to follow him in this Expedition; Which serv'd only to retard it. He went to *York*, from whence the Earl of *Essex* march'd with a Party to *Berwick*, of which, he made himself Master without Opposition, the *Scots* being in no Condition to resist him. The War might soon have been finish'd, but the King, to avoid Effusion of Blood, or for other Reasons, march'd so slowly, that he gave 'em time to prepare themselves. In the mean while, they wrote very submissive Letters, by which they offer'd to leave the Determination of their Grievances intirely to his own Wisdom and Pleasure. 'Tis manifest by the Issue, that they amus'd him with specious Submissions, and that they who serv'd the King, had an Eye more to their own Advantage than his. The Earl of *Holland* being advanc'd some Miles into *Scotland*, with a Detachment of 3000 Horse, 2000 Foot, and some Artillery, arriv'd at a Place call'd *Dunce*, and finding the *Scots* Army posted advantageously on the side of a Hill, he durst not attack 'em with his Cavalry, tho it equall'd in Number the Enemies whole Army; and afterwards shamefully retir'd to his Foot, which stay'd behind, without daring to do any thing. A Treaty was afterwards enter'd upon, shameful for the King. The Armies were, by Virtue of this Treaty, disbanded; the
King

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King pass'd an Act of Oblivion; the King's Forts and Castles in *Scotland* restored; his Majesty was to call a Parliament to settle every thing, without reserving any of the Rebels for Justice; because, 'twas pretended, the *Scots* had committed no Fault. By so scandalous a Treaty, the King and his Ministers found themselves entirely lost in their Reputation, and expos'd to the Contempt of their Enemies. The *Scots* Defenders of the Covenant already mention'd, who saw themselves in Danger of being crush'd, were more insolent than ever. The Author assures that the King intercepted at that time a Letter from the *Scots* Nobility to the King of *France*, in which they complain'd to him of the Hardness and Injustice of the Government that was exercis'd over them. By this it was known, that the *Zeal for Religion*, which that Nation made so much Noise with, was only for the Vulgar, and that the Nobility acted upon another Principle.

To cure the Mischiefs which might arise from these things, and especially to get some Supplies of Money, (this Expedition having entirely exhausted the Royal Treasury) the King resolv'd to call a Parliament in *England*, after having been near upon twelve Years without any. He so little fear'd what might be said by the Parliament, that he proceeded in all Respects in the same unpopular Ways he had done before. Ship-Money was levy'd with the same Severity; and the same Rigour us'd in Ecclesiastical Courts, without regard to any Man. 'Tis plain from thence, that the Temper of the People was very little known to the King or Clergy; since they continued to provoke 'em, without valuing their Murmurs, or being in a Condition to keep 'em under. The Parliament met the third of *April*, 1640. and the King complain'd vehemently of the Usage he had received from the *Scots*, and of the Recourse they had had to the King of *France*. He thereupon demanded the Advice and Assistance of his Parliament: But the Keeper of the Seals, who at that time was Sir *John Finch*, after enlarging on the same Subject the King had only touch'd upon in few Words, said, 'That his Majesty did not expect Advice from 'em, much less that they shou'd interpose in any Office of Mediation, which wou'd not be grateful to him, but only Money to raise an Army to humble the

Rebels in *Scotland*: He added, that if the *English* wou'd readily grant this, the King wou'd afterwards give 'em time enough to represent any Grievances to him, and that he wou'd answer them favourably. This Discourse was by no means proper to gain Mens Minds already ill dispos'd. Wherefore the Grievances of the Nation were spoke of with great Warmth in the House of Commons, which hinder'd 'em from going upon the Subsidies the King demanded. The House of Lords having put 'em in mind of this Delay, they were offended at it, and continu'd to grow more and more inflam'd. The King made Proposals of quitting his Title to Ship-Money, provided they wou'd give him certain Subsidies. But these Proposals were not at all relish'd; and at length the Parliament was Dissolv'd, a Month after they had Sat, without having granted the King any thing. However, he found Means to borrow Money, with which he rais'd an Army, and made the Earl of *Northumberland* General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse; which disgusted the Generals of the former Year, who pretended they had not serv'd the King ill. The Malcontents of *Scotland* had Emisseries at *London*, who stirr'd up the Rabble to go and attempt the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*; which oblig'd the Archbishop to stay some Days and Nights in *Whitehall*. One of the Rioters being punish'd as a Criminal for High Treason, struck Terror into the rest; but, however, it shew'd the Disposition of the Populace.

The General, who was advanced with his Army towards the Frontiers of *Scotland*, being fall'n Sick, the King appointed the Earl of *Strafford* to Serve in his stead, in Quality of Lieutenant General: But before he cou'd reach the Army, my Lord *Conway* suffer'd himself to be shamefully Routed, at *Newburn*, without any Resistance, and retir'd to *Durham*. The *English* abandon'd at the same time the Town of *Newcastle*, an advantageous Post, which the *Scots* seiz'd. It is very wonderful, that this Affair was never examin'd into, to know whence so much Cowardice, or so much ill Conduct proceeded, and that no body was punish'd for it. Let People talk as ill as they please of those who Oppos'd the Measures of the Court, they who were well affected to the King deserve as much to be blamed as the others; since they shew'd no

Signs

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Signs of Prudence or Courage when there was occasion. Wherefore our Author spares 'em not in the Characters he gives of 'em.

In these Streights the King bethought himself of a new Invention, or at least hardly ever before heard of. He call'd a Council of the Peers of the Realm, to attend him at *York*. 'Twas a long time before they came; and at length they advis'd him to call a Parliament in *England*, tho' 'twas visible the Nation was very much dissatisfy'd: For besides the Reasons it pretended to have upon Account of the *Court*; the *Clergy* had given 'em fresh Provocations. After the Dissolution of the Parliament, the Convocation which usually sits down and rises with the Parliament, had been continued by the King's Order for a whole Month, under the Name of a Synod. In truth the King had consulted the Judges upon it, who declared that this Assembly might be held, according to the Laws. They had made *Canons*, which 'twas thought was in their Power to do, but which ought at least to have been deferr'd to more peaceable Times. They afterwards gave the King Subsidies out of Church Revenues, and injoin'd Oaths, (which certainly they could not do, according to our Historian :) He does not say what these Oaths were, but it appears by other † Histories, that they were a sort of an Anti-Covenant, or a League, in Opposition to that of *Scotland*, to maintain the Episcopal Discipline and Government. The King, after having caus'd these *Canons* to be examin'd in his Council, Confirm'd 'em, and order'd 'em to be observ'd.

The *English* Catholics, who had Reason to be well satisfied with that Prince's Indulgence, made a very unreasonable Demonstration of their Zeal, in presenting him with a considerable Sum of Money, by the Hands of the Queen, who had put 'em upon it. The *Scots* took occasion from thence to say, that the King design'd to ruin the Reform'd Religion in *Scotland*, by means of the Catholics; which did infinite Prejudice to the latter in *England*.

The King, besides his Privy-Council, had establish'd a Committee of State; which was reproachfully after-

† Wars of England, &c. about the Year 1640.

wards call'd by a *Spanish* Name, the *Juncto*; and then enviously in the Court, the *Cabinet Council*. They who compos'd it, Assembled with the Secretaries of State, on any extraordinary Intelligence, or when they were to make any extraordinary Dispatch; or as often otherwise as was thought fit. By Misfortune this Council consisted of Men but indifferently qualify'd for so important a Business. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was not capable to govern his Zeal for the Church; he was too halcy and too uncourtly, and did not sufficiently value what was said or thought of him, which render'd him odious to a great many People; to which Prejudice, the new Canons, mention'd before, made no small Addition. The Earl of *Strafford*, who had been six Years Lieutenant of *Ireland*, where he had govern'd despotically enough, was a Man of too high and severe a Deportment, and one who had a World of Enemies. The Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, had spent the greatest Part of his Life in *Spain*, and only made an outside Shew of being a Protestant, as appear'd afterwards; besides, he had contracted the Hatred of a great Number of the Nobility, by Raising the King's Revenues at their Cost. He was better skill'd to serve Abroad than at Home, where he did nothing but make his Master hated. Such Counsellors undid the King and themselves too.

That Prince being likewise incompass'd with other Persons, who secretly favour'd the *Scots*, was induced to treat with 'em about a Cessation of Arms, and to take upon him the Payment of their Army till a Peace shou'd be concluded at *London*; mean time, that Army to continue in their Quarters, and the *English* in theirs; both in the *North* of *England*. The King, (as the Author observes in several Places) thro' a modest Diffidence of himself, yielded unhappily to be led by others, who were visibly wanting either in Skill, or Fidelity and Courage; which he never perceived. This was what caused him to make so many false Steps, that it may be said, If there have been Kings, as there has been doubtless a great many, who have deceiv'd their Subjects; There never was one whom his Subjects did so frequently and so cruelly deceive, as *Charles I.*

III. The fatal Parliament which destroy'd him, met November the 3d, 1640, at a time when the Minds of the People were very much heated, thro' the haughty and imprudent Conduct of the King's Ministers. He desired to have Sir *Thomas Gardner* chosen for Speaker of the House of Commons, but not being able to procure it, Mr. *Lentall* a Lawyer was chosen to that Employment, who was not thought to have any ill Intention with Regard to the King and the Church of *England*, but he was neither Able nor Courageous enough to do 'em Service. The House of Commons began with proposing the Nation's Grievances; and the Enemies of the Earl of *Strafford* manag'd it so, that he was soon after Impeach'd of High Treason, and committed to the Black-Rod. They Impeach'd the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* of the same Crime, and likewise Secretary *Windebank*, who did indeed too much favour the Roman Catholicks, as the Author shews by a remarkable Story which I shall omit. This last retir'd into *France*, and so avoided the Anger of the Parliament, who wou'd not have treated him better than the rest. Our Historian gives us in this place the Characters of Eight Members of both Houses, who were most against the Court, and who did it most Disservice, viz. the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Manchester*, the Earl of *Essex*, Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden*, St. *John*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior. I shall report but Two of these Characters. ' Mr. *Hambden*, says the Author, was a Man extreamly cunning, and perhaps of the most discerning Spirit, and of the greatest Address and Insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desir'd, of any Man of that time, and who laid the Design deepest: He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and had a sufficient Fortune. From a Life of Pleasure and Licentiousness, he was on a sudden reform'd to a Life of extraordinary Sobriety and Strictness; yet without losing any thing of his gay and affable Humour. All this join'd to the Opinion of his Wisdom and Justice, and the Courage he had shew'd in opposing the Ship-Money, rais'd his Reputation to a very great height; not only in *Buckinghamshire* where he liv'd, but generally throughout the Kingdom: He was not a Man of many Words; he rarely made the first entrance upon any Discourse that was assum'd; but spoke with a great deal of Weight; and after he had heard a full Debate, and observ'd on which

‘which side the House was like to be inclin’d, he took up
 ‘the Argument and stated the Question clearly in a few
 ‘Words, and with so much Dexterity, that he commonly
 ‘determin’d ’em to any thing he desir’d; and if he found
 ‘he cou’d not do that, he never fail’d of Means to divert
 ‘the Debate to another time, and to prevent a Negative
 ‘Resolution, which might afterwards prejudice his De-
 ‘signs. He made so great a show of Civility, Modesty,
 ‘and Humility, and always of mistrusting his own Judg-
 ‘ment, and esteeming his with whom he confer’d for
 ‘the present, that he seem’d to have no Opinions or Re-
 ‘solutions, but such as he contracted from the Informa-
 ‘tion of those he discours’d with, whom he thus govern’d
 ‘and led into his own Inclination, whilst they believ’d
 ‘that he only depended upon their Counsel. No Man
 ‘had ever a greater Power over himself, or was less
 ‘the Man that he seem’d to be; which shortly after
 ‘appear’d to every body, when he thought fit to throw off
 ‘the Mask.

If this Picture be true, it must be confess’d he was a
 notable Man, and had something of *Socrates* in him. He
 had made a better Minister of State, a Thousand times,
 than the Blunderers and Hot Heads the King employ’d;
 who ruin’d all his Affairs. See another Character of one
 of the same Party, but whose Manners were of a differ-
 ent Cast.

‘*Sir Henry Vane* was a Man of great natural Parts, and
 ‘of very profound Disimulation; of a quick Conception,
 ‘and very ready; sharp and weighty Expressions: He had
 ‘an unusual Aspect, which tho’ it might naturally proceed
 ‘both from his Father and Mother, neither of whom
 ‘were beautiful Persons, yet made Men think there was
 ‘something in him of extraordinary, and his whole Life
 ‘made good that Imagination.

The Author proceeds to give an Abridgment of his Life,
 till he was Member of Parliament, and enter’d into the
 Designs of his Father, (who was Secretary of State,) to
 revenge himself of the Earl of *Strafford*, who had slighted
 him.

The *Scots* Commissioners to treat of Peace, came a-
 bout that time to *London*, lodg’d in the Heart of the City,
 and join’d themselves with those of the Parliament, who
 went counter to the King; to whom they did all the Mis-
 chief

chief they cou'd, as may be seen in the Author. The King indeed took into his Council several Lords who were reckon'd the most Popular; but the greatest part of 'em prov'd afterwards his most violent Enemies. So unhappy was he in his Choice, and incapable of Fixing People to his Service. Here you will find in the Author very Judicious Reflections on the Election of Privy Counsellors.

About that time the Licentiousness of Preaching was extreme, and a Thousand Invectives and Libels were made against the Episcopal Clergy. 'Twas a common thing in the Parishioners, to present Petitions to the Parliament against their Pastors, whom they accus'd, of forcing 'em to communicate at the Foot of the *Altar*; (thus they call'd the Communion-Table, to insinuate that it savour'd of Popery,) and to bow at the Name of *Jesus*. The Parliament even suffer'd these Petitions to be printed. Things came to that pass, the Episcopal Clergy were term'd the *Scandalous Clergy*; an Expression which afterwards became very frequent, tho' apply'd to Men of Learning and unblamable Life.

† Yet it may be said, the *Presbyterians* of that time (for I don't pretend to speak of those who have since grown better) were generally very poor *Theologists*, and had no other Reading but that of their modern Common Places, without any solid Study of the Originals of Scripture or Ecclesiastical Antiquities. As for Philosophy and polite Literature, 'twas none of their Business. A sower Phanatical Air, a great deal of Bitterness against those who were not of their Opinion, as much inward Vanity as outward Humility, with some Volubility of Tongue proper to work upon the People, made up the Sum Total of their Merit. Their Religion consisted entirely in a compos'd Outside, in being exempt from gross shocking Vices, yet without being cured of others more secret, but not less dangerous, and in exclaiming against the *Romish* Church with all their Might. To conclude, they were a Turbulent, Seditious, Implacable People; taking infinite delight in domineering and making the weight of their Authority felt by those who were not of

† Mr. Le Clerc's Observation. their

their Cabal; to destroy whom, there was no Villainy or Lies that they did not make use of: And they were never better satisfied with themselves, than when they had ruin'd somebody. Of all which, this History will afford notable Examples, if it be read with Care; for in the end it will appear, that these *Divines* thought it not too dear a Bargain to purchase the Destruction of Episcopacy at the price of a Civil War, which destroy'd great Numbers of Persons of all Conditions; and ruin'd a great many good Families.

On the other hand, the Episcopal Clergy seem'd, not always to have defended a good Cause, well-enough. They presently flew to the Sovereign Power, rather than to Arguments season'd with Patience, Moderation, and Circumspection; which are every where well received, and always necessary, but especially in a free Nation, and at a time when it is dissatisfy'd. To go otherwise to work is to spoil all, and to render that odious which else wou'd be belov'd. Among an understanding People, Men ought to be made sensible that they have no cause to desire the Change of a well establish'd Discipline; and that only the Abuses, if there are any, shou'd be corrected. They ought to be convinc'd by clear Reasons, and not by the downright Authorities of interest'd Men, or which are only founded upon Custom; and still less, by extravagant Pretensions and offensive Paradoxes, which never perswaded any body, and serve for nothing but to exasperate Peoples Minds. But it belongs to the Sages of the Country, rather than to Foreigners, to judge of what ought to have been done.

To return to the History. A short time afterwards several *Presbyterian* Ministers presented Petitions, sign'd by a great Number of Persons who had not seen them, against the Episcopal Government and the Canons. The House of Commons condemn'd the Canons as contrary to the Regal Authority, and prejudicial to the Liberty and Property of the Subject and the Privileges of Parliament; They provided likewise for the Payment of the two Armies by way of *Loan*; they order'd it so that no part of this Money pass'd through the King's Hands, and even found means to take from him his most necessary Revenues.

A Bill was presented to the King touching the Convention

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vention of the Parliament every three Years, wherein was a Clause, which gave the People Power to assemble themselves if the King fail'd to call 'em. Tho' this was derogatory to the Monarchical Authority, the King pass'd the Bill without Hesitation; being resolved, apparently, to make those Conventions frequent. The Parliament seem'd to be very thankful for this, but their Gratitude lasted not long. They began by proceeding against the Earl of *Strafford*, an Affair which the Author gives a very large Account of. If he omits nothing that's Essential, 'tis manifest that Lord cou'd not be condemned as guilty of High Treason, according to the Laws of *England*. But his Enemies had the Cunning to perswade the Parliament, that he had govern'd *Ireland* in such a manner, as was more conformable to Arbitrary Principles, than to the Laws of *England*. This was no difficult thing for those to believe, who were of Opinion, that there's no Courtier but thinks he has done a very glorious Action, if he has render'd his Prince absolute Master of the Laws as well as of the Estates and Lives of his Subjects. However, the House prefer'd against him a Bill of Attainder, which pass'd by a Majority of Voices, tho' it belong'd to the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords to try him, according to the Laws.

They proceeded after this to take away the Bishops Votes in Parliament. The Bill pass'd in the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. There was some body who even propos'd the utter Abolition of the Episcopal Order; but that was deferr'd. Some Accidents which the Author mentions, and especially the Tumults of People who demanded Justice, were the Occasion of the Lords passing the Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*. Nothing remained but the King's Assent, which he refus'd a long time; but at length was prevail'd upon to sign a Commission to some Lords to pass the Bill on his Behalf; which however he did not do, till after the Earl of *Strafford* himself desired it, rather than that his Majesty shou'd absolutely fall out with his Parliament. The Privy-Council were likewise of this Opinion, either through Passion or Weakness. The Archbishop of *York* particularly made use of a ridiculous Distinction, to determine the King to sign this Condemnation against his Conscience: He argued, that a King has two Consciences; one as a private Man,

the other in Quality of a King; and that the latter might be opposed to the former. So that as a King, he might, for the quiet of the State, condemn a Person whom he believ'd innocent, as a private Man. The King, being supported by none of his Council, yielded at last; and did a thing he repented the whole Remainder of his Life. The Earl was executed on *Tower-Hill*, May 12th, 1641.

While the King continued extremely disquieted on this Occasion, another thing was propos'd in the House of Commons, which was yet more Fatal to him. The Parliament not having been able to Pay the Armies, nor to Maintain 'em till they were disbanded, without borrowing Money on the Credit of some private Men, 'twas fear'd that the Houses cou'd not satisfy their Engagements if the King dissolv'd 'em, as they were apprehensive he wou'd; they thereupon prepar'd a Bill, wherein it was declar'd, that they shou'd neither be adjourn'd, nor prorogu'd, nor dissolv'd, but by an Act made by themselves; which upon such Occasion his Majesty shou'd never deny to pass. The King Impowred some Lords, in the same Commission by which he authoriz'd 'em to sign my Lord *Strafford's* Bill in his Name, to pass the other likewise. Thus you may see what sort of Council this King had, and in what Men he confided: Nor can the Author forbear shewing his Indignation upon this Subject, as he does on like Occasions where the King committed irreparable Errors, only for want of good Advice.

An Act of Pacification was afterwards made between the two Kingdoms, and the Parliament was so very favourable to the *Scots*, that besides the Pay of their Army, they voted 'em 300000 *l.* Sterling, as a Gratuity; with a Design to make use of the *Scots* Nation against the Court and Church of *England*, when there shou'd be Occasion. In the mean time, the Parliament thought no further of breaking up; and the King, who judg'd it proper to go into *Scotland*, in order to compose his Subjects Minds there, left 'em Sitting at *Westminster*, during his Journey.

The Author gives a short History of the Acts that pass'd in Parliament till the *Scots* Pacification. It had perhaps been better to have put 'em according to their Dates, which the Author takes no notice of. I cannot stop any longer by the way. I shall only set down what relates

to

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to the Suppressing of the *High Commission*, an Office which only serv'd to provoke the People and Nobility against the Court. 'The Jurisdiction of this Court was erected by 'a Statute in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, instead of 'a larger Power which had been exercis'd under the Pope's 'Authority then abolish'd; and whilst it was exercis'd 'with Moderation, was an excellent Means to vindicate 'and preserve the Dignity and Peace of the Church; 'tho' from the Beginning it was murmur'd against by 'the Nonconformist Party of the Kingdom: But latterly 'it cannot be deny'd, but by the great Power of some 'Bishops at Court, it had much overflow'd the Banks, 'which shou'd have contain'd it; not only in meddling 'with things that in Truth were not properly within their 'Cognizance, but extending their Sentences and Judgments, in Matters triable before 'em, beyond that Degree which was justifiable; and grew to have so great a 'Contempt of the Common Law and the Professors of it, '(which was a fatal Unskillfulness in the Bishops, who 'cou'd never have suffer'd while the Common Law had 'been preserv'd) that Prohibitions from the Supreme 'Courts of Law, which have and must have the Superintendency over all Inferior Courts, were not only neglected, but the Judges reprehended for granting 'em: '(which, without Perjury they cou'd not deny) and the 'Lawyers discountenanced for moving for 'em, which 'they were oblig'd in Duty to do. So that thereby 'the Clergy made almost a whole Profession, if not 'their Enemies, yet very indevoted to 'em. Then it was 'grown from an Ecclesiastical Court for Reformation of 'Manners, to a Court of Revenue, and imposed great 'Fines on those who were culpable before 'em; sometimes above the Degree of the Offence, had the Jurisdiction of Fining been unquestionable, which it was not; 'which Course of Fining was much more frequent, and 'the Fines heavier, after the King had granted all the 'Revenue, (whatsoever it should prove to be) to be 'employ'd for the Reparation of *St. Paul's Church*; which 'tho' it were a Glorious Work, and worthy the Piety of 'those who advanc'd it and the Greatness of his Mind 'who principally intended it, made the Grievance the 'heavier.

The Author adds other things: But by this it is sufficiently seen, that there is no reason to be surpriz'd, if the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the chief Author of all, made a great many People his Enemies. Tho' his Designs might have been good, the Manner of his pursuing 'em favour'd too much of Arbitrary Government, to be long endur'd in a *Country of Laws*. Civil Punishments ought to depend on Civil Judges, and not Ecclesiasticks, who may and ought only to pronounce the Punishments *Providence* inflicts either in this Life or the next.

The *Star Chamber*, which took Cognizance of Crimes of State, was likewise abolish'd, because of the Abuses that had been made of its Authority; which had injur'd great Numbers of People of all Degrees, and was dreaded by every Body, for its extraordinary Proceedings; against which, ev'n the Laws themselves were insufficient to secure the Subject. At first they intended to limit its Authority, but 'twas thought better intirely to take it away; because it would be very difficult to prevent the Abuses it might still make of the Authority that remain'd. This Act, and divers others, to the Damage of the Crown, were confirm'd by the King, before he went to *Scotland*. The Author believes, Posterity will look upon this as a particular Mark of King *Charles* the First's Goodness, and of the Confidence he had in his Subjects; and it cannot be deny'd. But it is strange he shou'd dare to trust People who apprehended themselves ill used by the Court, and whose Grievances it had not taken any Measures to satisfy, till they had in some sort extorted this Satisfaction, which the Court wou'd needs have to pass for a Favour; and which the People took to be a Piece of Justice not to be deny'd 'em. The King might boast as much as he pleas'd afterwards of his Condescension, the Parliament did not thank him for it, and ow'd him nothing on that Score. They who will Reflect upon this, will be much less surprized at the Excesses which the Parliament afterwards run into.

IV. The King being gone to *Scotland*, the House of Commons, at least some of the chief Members, propos'd a Bill, *For Liberty to lay aside the Use of the Common-Prayer-Book*, and for some other Alterations in Churches: But the Upper House oppos'd it. Both Houses adjourn'd from

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from the 9th of September till the 20th of October following; and for fear any thing shou'd happen in the mean while which they might not like, they appointed a Committee to Sit during their Recess, and to Assemble twice a Week, or oftner, if there should be occasion; with very great Power and Authority. They sent likewise three Members to attend, as the Phrase was, on his Majesty, but in truth to be Spies upon him; Among them was *Hambden*, whose Character is already given. In the mean time the King being in *Scotland*, knew not whom to Trust; because the chief of the Nobility, who had promis'd to remain firm to his side, Betray'd him. The Armies were however disbanded; but the King did not, at the Bottom, compose the Minds of that Country, tho' he created the Marquis of *Hamilton* a Duke, and the Earl of *Argyle* a Marquis.

There came Letters from that Kingdom to *London*, intimating, that there had been an Intention to Assassinate these two Lords; and which insinuated, under obscure Terms, that the Court had a Design to cause some Persons at *London* likewise to be assassinated. This occasion'd the Earl of *Essex*, who was left General by the King, to appoint a Guard for the Security of both Houses, as if they had been in Danger. At the same time there arriv'd News from *Ireland*, worse than all this, which was the Rebellion of the Papists; who breaking out on a sudden in all Parts, had Massacred 40 or 50000 *English* Protestants, about the middle of *October*. This is the Number the Author mentions; but others, as well Papists as Protestants, make it much greater. The City of *Dublin* escaped by Miracle. The Earl of *Leicester*, who was then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, immediately gave Advice of it to the Council; and they to the Parliament. The King likewise wrote about it, a short time afterwards, from *Scotland*, earnestly recommending the Affair to the Parliament; and told 'em, That for the present, he had given Orders for a *Scots* Regiment of Foot to be Transported into the Province of *Ulster*, which was wholly Inhabited by *Scots* and *Irish*. This hinder'd not the Enemies of the Court from spreading it about, that the King had fomented the Rebellion, and permitted this Massacre; or that at least the Queen had a Hand in it, to advance the Romish Religion; and that the Rebels

gave

gave out, they had done nothing but by the King's Authority. These Reports made deep Impressions on a great many People, who had no good Opinion of the Court, and did not love the Queen in particular. She had, as was believ'd, too great an Influence over the King, and meddled too much with Affairs.

After some Days a new Bill was presented to the House of Commons, for the taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament. And there were some Lawyers who drove this Point, upon account of the open Enmity some of the Clergy had shown 'em for a long time; which the Author justly blames here, and elsewhere, as the Cause of a great deal of Mischiefe.

The Scots, on their side, extorted what they pleas'd from the King. He loaded with Honours and Favours those who had done him most Harm, and who continu'd to do him more afterwards. His Majesty gave away, in Gratuities, all the Lands of the Church, which had been devolv'd to him by its Ruin, and whatever else he had to give in that Kingdom; without drawing any manner of Advantage to himself; after which, he thought of nothing but returning to *England*. The Author observes that he had not a faithful Counsellor there, but only the Duke of *Lenox*, who was follow'd but by few. But the Constancy of a Prince, commonly makes *that* of his Counsellors. 'Tis surprizing, that this King, who yielded so easily to bold and dangerous Advice, did afterwards so feebly support his Designs.

The Parliament of *England* having appointed a Committee to examine the State of the Nation, and so draw thereupon a Remonstrance to the King, they did accordingly make their Report to the House. It contain'd a very bitter Representation of all the illegal Things that had been done, from the first Moment of the King's coming to the Crown to that Minute; with all the sharp Reflection that cou'd be made upon the King himself, the Queen, and Council. It insinuated, that the Court had a Design to introduce the Popish Religion; without forgetting any thing that might disturb the Minds of the People, which were enough discompos'd before. 'Twas read, and pass'd with a great deal of Difficulty and by a very few Voices. 'Twas afterwards resolv'd to cause it to be

Printed,

Printed, tho' the House was at first very much divided upon it.

The Substance of it will be found in the Author. He observes that the Enemies of the Court, who were before very inconsiderable, did, by degrees, increase, thro' the Cunning and Activity of those who led them: So that at length they found themselves entire Masters of all Deliberations, thro' the wretched Management and Negligence of those of the King's side, who had no one Man for him in the House furnish'd with the necessary Qualities to support him. But this falls back upon the Court, who ought to have gain'd over the leading Men of the opposite side, as our Historian observes.

The King arriv'd from *Scotland*, and enter'd *London* the 25th of *November*; and the 1st of *December*, the House of Commons presented to him, at *Hampton Court*, their *Remonstrance*, with a *Petition*, wherein they complain'd of a † *Malignant Party* who prevail'd at Court, and of whom several were possess'd of Employments. They attributed to this Party the Insurrection in *Ireland*: They besought his Majesty to remove such Men from him; and likewise to take away the Bishops Votes in Parliament, and other things of the like Nature. This *Petition* was Printed some few Days after, with the *Remonstrance*; tho' the King had desir'd 'em not to publish either, till he shou'd send his Answer; which he shortly after did, expressing how sensible he was of that Disrespect, and declared he knew no such Malignant Party, as they talk'd of: That he had an undoubted Right to choose what Counsellors he thought fit; and that he wou'd always maintain the Doctrine and Discipline establish'd by the Laws, as well against Schismatics as Papists.

After this, the Parliament talk'd of nothing but putting the Power of the Militia into the Hands of Men in whom they cou'd confide, and to exclude the Bishops from Parliament. There were upon this several Tumults of the People of *London*, who insulted the House of Lords; of which the Particulars may be seen in the *Author*. The Bishops, and some other Lords, absented themselves, because of this Licentiousness; and the Archbishop

† By this Appellation, the Court-Party was commonly understood during the Civil War.

of York, a hot imprudent Man, (mention'd before) having assembl'd all the Bishops that were in London, advis'd 'em to prepare a Protestation to send to the House, against the Force that was us'd upon 'em, and against all the Acts and Proceedings which were or shou'd be done, during the time they shou'd by Force be kept from doing their Duty in the House. Eleven Bishops subscribed this Protestation after him; and 'twas carry'd bluntly to the King, who having lightly look'd upon it, and believing the Bishops had thought well on what they had done, immediately sent it to the Parliament, who met two Hours afterwards. Their Enemies, who only wanted a Handle against 'em, laid hold of the Opportunity; and their Protestation having been communicated to the Lower House, they immediately accused the Bishops of High Treason; and by this Means they were all Twelve of 'em committed to the Tower, where they remain'd till they were excluded the Parliament by a Formal Act; which was not done till some Months afterwards. If these Bishops were guilty of great Indiscretion upon this occasion, the King was chargeable with a much greater, some time afterwards. In the Beginning of the Year 1642, He took a Resolution to accuse of High Treason six Members of Parliament, by the sole Advice of the Lord Digby; a Man full of Spirit and Wit, but subject to form chimerical and desperate Designs, and to engage himself in 'em rashly, without weighing the Difficulties. He oftentimes follow'd his own Fancy, thinking every body wou'd approve of it, if it was attended with Success; of which he passionately wish'd to have all the Glory. He was the most unfit Man the King cou'd chuse, for matter of Discretion; having himself a great deal of Inclination suddenly to undertake every thing that was propos'd to him, and being as easily Frighten'd when any Difficulty occur'd.

The King therefore Commanded to be accused of High Treason, the Lord Kimbolton, Pym, Hambden, Hollis, Hasterigg, and Stroud; the five last, Members of the Lower House. The Lords put off the Affair to next Day, out of respect to the accused Lord, without causing him to be committed; and the Commons, without any regard to the Serjeant at Arms, who in the King's Name demanded the five Members of their House, sent a Message to the King, *That the Members shou'd be forth-coming, as*

soon

soon as a legal Charge shou'd be preferr'd against 'em. In the mean time, the King, by some of his Servants had visited the Lodgings of some of the accused Members, and Seal'd up their Studies and Trunks. The House declar'd all this Void, and made an Order for their Security. The King following the Advice of the same Lord, went himself the next Day, with his ordinary Guard, and some Gentlemen, to the House of Commons, to procure 'em to be deliver'd up. He order'd the Attendants to wait at the Door, and took only the Electoral Prince, his Nephew, with him. He went into the Speaker's Chair, and demanded the accus'd Members; who having received Intelligence before-hand, had withdrawn themselves from the House, which adjourn'd till the next Day. As for the accus'd Members, they remov'd into the City in the Night-time; and the Inhabitants being alarm'd, took Arms for their Defence. The King thought it proper to go thither, with two or three Lords, to quiet the People: He spoke with a great deal of Kindness to the Citizens; but that did not at all hinder the Rabble from crying out, as he pass'd thro' the City to *Whitehall*, *Privilege of Parliament*, *Privilege of Parliament*; by way of Reproach, as if he had violated the same. Notwithstanding this, he issued out a Proclamation for the apprehending of all those he had accus'd; but without any Effect.

After these Steps, every thing was in Disorder; and the King and Parliament did nothing but accuse one another; as may be seen throughout the remaining Part of this Volume. The Parliament, and those who espous'd it, still perswaded themselves more and more, that the King had no other Design but to set up an Arbitrary Government, and that he wou'd do it so soon as he had the Means in his Hands. The People fancy'd that the Courtiers, far from being against such a Design, look'd upon it rather as an Enterprize worthy of a King and wish'd he might compass it. The Parliament thought themselves oblig'd to oppose it betimes, with their utmost Efforts; and the King fear'd he shou'd be stripp'd of all his Royal Prerogatives, if he did not assert 'em with Vigor. This is what brought on the Civil War; which ended in the entire Ruin of the Royal Party. The Houses adjourn'd for some Days; and in the mean time named a Com-

mittee, which sat in the City, and openly protected the six accused Members. The House of Commons afterwards re-assembling, declared, That the King had violated the Privileges of Parliament; and that they could not meet, without taking Measures for their Safety. The King, in vain, answer'd their former Remonstrance, by a Declaration which he publish'd. It did in no wise allay the Ferment of the People; and the House of Commons declared themselves more openly for the accused Members, whom 'twas resolv'd to bring back as it were in Triumph to the Parliament, with a strong Guard. The King at that time thought convenient to remove to *Hampton Court*; and the next Day the accused Members were brought to *Westminster*, guarded by the Sheriffs and Train'd-Bands of *London* and *Westminster*. As soon as 'twas known that the Lord *Digby* was the Man who advis'd the King to go in Person to the House of Commons to arrest the accused Members, he was himself impeach'd of High Treason, and oblig'd to withdraw out of the Kingdom. The King, on his side, to avoid being troubl'd with so many Petitions which were every Day presented to him, went to *Windsor*; from whence he dispatch'd Messengers, to no purpose, to justify his Conduct. The Parliament declared, it was Fit the Militia shou'd be put into the Hands of those in whom they cou'd confide, and Resolv'd the same thing touching the Castles, Forts, and Garrisons of the Kingdom.

During the War with the *Scots*, all the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition, which was provided for that Service, had been sent to *Hull*, a Sea-port Town, in the *North East* of *England*, where it still remain'd, and his Majesty intended it shou'd be kept there for a Magazine upon all Occasions. The King had some desire to seize it, and sent thither the Earl of *Newcastle*; but the Parliament suspecting it, sent down Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son, to make themselves Masters of the Place; which they executed, without the King's daring to oppose it. There was afterwards a sort of Intercourse in Writing, between the King and Parliament. They mutually complain'd of each other; and at the same time reciprocal Complements pass'd as if the one had nothing in View but the good of the other. Those who
fancy

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fancy none but the Southern Nations capable of Disimulation and of protesting one thing while they mean another, need only read these Pieces to be undeceiv'd. They will see, there were in those Days Men in *England*, able to give Lessons to *Italians* and *Spaniards*, in such Points.

The Parliament earnestly press'd the King to pass the Bill against the Bishops Votes, as also, That about the Militia; but the King constantly refus'd it. The Queen, being frighten'd with the Menaces against the Court and her self in particular, whom they talk'd of accusing of High Treason, retir'd out of the Kingdom; under pretence of carrying the Princess, her Daughter, into *Holland*, to the Prince of *Orange*, to whom she was Affianced. The King in his Return from accompanying her, went and took the Prince of *Wales*, then at *Greenwich*, and carry'd him to *Hampton-Court*, tho' the Parliament declar'd against it. He afterwards remov'd further from *London*, and left *Hampton-Court* to go to *Theobalds*; and from *Theobalds*, he went to *Newmarket*; where the Parliament sent him Papers, full of Reproaches and Prayers not to remove himself so far from Them. The King however had no regard to 'em, and retir'd at last to *York*, whither he design'd to go, that he might be within reach of *Hull*; a Place he wish'd mightily to be possess'd of, in case things shou'd come to Blows, because of the Ammunition that was there. The Parliament, being apprehensive of it, forbid *Hotham*, whom they had sent thither, to admit any Troops into that Town, without the immediate Consent of both Houses.

V. The King arriv'd at *York* the Beginning of *March*, 1641; and on the 9th of the same Month, O. S. he sent a Declaration, in answer to the Remonstrance he sometime before receiv'd from the Parliament at *Newmarket*, wherein he refused, with Mildness enough, the Complaints of the Remonstrants, which were very vehement. Before they receiv'd the King's Declaration, the Parliament sent him a Petition; wherein, after having represented the Danger the Kingdom was in, they earnestly desir'd him to return, and re-establish the mutual Confidence there had been between him and his Parliament. It had perhaps been better, at that time,

before they had begun to take Arms, if the King had come, as the Parliament desired, for the present, than to keep at such Distance, without having any Means of making War, in case it must have ended there. By being so remote, he gave time to the Parliament to raise Money, under pretence of succouring *Ireland*, without being able, on his side, to make any Provision of what was necessary. He offer'd indeed to the Parliament, to go in Person to *Ireland*, in case they gave him a good Army; but They, having no Mind to put him at the Head of an Army, thank'd him, under pretence they wou'd not expose his Person, and for other Reasons, which may be found in the Messages they sent the King, and which are full of Compliments and Protestations; whilst they omitted nothing that was necessary to be done, to deprive him of all manner of Authority.

This Prince, in vain, attempted to surprize *Hull*; the Governor whereof refus'd him Entrance; wherein his Conduct was approv'd by the Parliament, tho' the King proclaim'd him Traytor. The Parliament being now become Masters of the *Miliria*, in spite of the King's Oppositions, they nominated for the Command of it, Men whose Fidelity they were assur'd of; and caus'd an Assembly to be held of about 120 Divines, to reform the Government of the Church and Liturgy; of whom, there were scarce 20 who were not the avow'd Enemies to the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of *England*: Some of them infamous in their Lives and Conversations, and most of 'em of very mean Parts in Learning, if not of scandalous Ignorance; and of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church of *England*. The Author, after having made some Remarks thereupon, says nothing of the † Alteration they made, as if it were a thing out of the Business of his History; neither does he say any thing of the Reasons of there being so many Presbyterians in *England*, nor of the Original of the Independents, and other the like Fanaticks, who yet were

† Mr. le Clerc refers hereupon to the *Directory for the Service of God*, &c. Printed in English, in 12mo, at Amsterdam, 1688.

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the principal Actors in the Tragedy that follow'd. It is true, 'twas known at that time in *England*; but as he wrote for Posterity, who is not appriz'd of it; this Excuse cannot satisfy the Reader. The truth is, as I said before, these are rather *Memoirs*, than what may be call'd a *Complete History*.

The Parliament publish'd Declarations on the 15th and 23d of *May*, more violent than all the rest; wherein they Remonstrated, that the King was preparing to make War upon his Subjects, and they prohibited the giving him any Assistance. They likewise publish'd a Remonstrance the 26th of the same Month, to perswade People, that the King was the Cause of all the Disorders and evil Consequences that might happen. The Author gives these Writings at length, with the King's Answer to 'em. They are worth Reading, but it were impossible, without running into Excess, to make an Extract of 'em.

The second of *June*, the Parliament sent to the King a Writing, Entitled, *The Humble Petition and Advice of both Houses of Parliament, &c.* containing nineteen Propositions, which they made to him, and by which they took away almost every thing that is call'd in *England*, *Regal Privilege*, i. e. all the Rights which the Kings his Predecessors had enjoy'd. If the King had granted these Propositions, all might have gone well; unless, according to the Parliament, there was no possibility of trusting him. The King refus'd all this with Contempt, as if he had been in a Condition to support himself.

The Parliament shortly afterwards publish'd an Order for bringing in Plate and Money, for maintaining a Body of Horse, for the present Necessities; for they had receiv'd Advice, that the Queen had, in *Holland*, pawn'd the Jewels of the Crown, in order to send some Ammunition to the King. That Prince endeavour'd, as much as possible, to dissuade a great many Lords, who were come in to him at *York*, from taking any part in the Proceedings of the Parliament. All that were there, engaged themselves, 'Not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, which were not warranted by the known Laws of the Land; to defend the King, the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of the People, and the Pri-

Privileges of Parliament. This Instrument, bearing Date the 13th of *June*, 1642. was publish'd throughout the Kingdom; and two Days afterwards the King, fearing lest this should be explain'd as if it were a Declaration of War, made a Protestation, disavowing any Intentions of raising War upon the Parliament. Whereupon all the Lords and Counsellors present, unanimously agreed, and sign'd a Paper, testifying that they were fully perswaded his Majesty was intirely inclin'd to Peace. He wrote the same thing to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. The Parliament on their side, declared, That there was no trusting to those Protestations of the King, seeing his Conduct was quite the contrary, as was apparent from the Design he had to seize *Hull*, and from other Steps he had taken. He receiv'd shortly afterwards some little Ammunition of War from *Holland*, on board a Ship of 30 Guns; and the Report run, that it brought a great deal more than it really did. He endeavour'd at the same time to make himself Master of the Fleet, but the Design being ill executed, the Parliament took such Measures, that it was no more in danger of falling into his Hands.

The King afterwards assembl'd some Militia, to reduce *Hull* by Force, and issued a Proclamation at *Beverly*, a small Town within 4 Miles of the other, wherein he complain'd of the Governour of *Hull*, and manifested the Design he had of reducing it by Force, tho' otherwise he was resolv'd to avoid a War as much as possible. Which Proclamation he likewise sent to both Houses of Parliament: They oppos'd to it a Petition, to divert the King from his Intention. His Majesty return'd a very long Answer, to no purpose. At the same time, the Parliament resolv'd to raise an Army, of which the Earl of *Essex* was to be General. They declared it was for the sake of the King's Person, in defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who had obey'd their Orders and Commands, and for preserving of the True Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom.

At length, the King, not having been able to do any thing at *Hull*, which he thought to have possess'd himself of by Intelligence, after other Steps, and many fruitless Writings, went to *Nottingham*, where he set up his Standard the 25th of *August*, to assemble such together as were wil-

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willing to assist him, having as yet but few Militia of the County of *York*, and one Regiment of Foot, which was not compleat. There appear'd not any Conflux of People there; and 'twas observ'd, the Standard was blown down the same Night by a High Wind, without any possibility to put it up, till a Day or two afterwards, when the Weather grew calmer.

VI. The following *Volume*, divided into two *Tomes*, in the *Octavo* Edition, contains the History of the War, which began in *August*, 1643. I cannot enter upon any *Detail* of this War, wherein, at first, appear'd great Failures on both sides, and divers small Advantages, which they by turns obtain'd one over the other, as well as cross-Protestations, whereby they accused each other reciprocally of being the Causes of these Distractions. Altho' the King was stripp'd of all, it seems that the Nobility who were of his side, had at the beginning more Conduct and Bravery; and that his Troops were better than those which serv'd the Parliament: But the Royal Party soon suffer'd for want of Money and Ammunition, whilst the Parliament, who laid what Imposts they pleas'd, and were Masters of the greatest part of the Kingdom, abounded with every thing; and happening likewise to have not only *English* Officers, but *Scots*, and other Foreigners who had serv'd Abroad, their Troops grew better and better every Day. Besides, the Officers of the King's Troops fell into Divisions among themselves, whereby they gave great Advantages to the Enemy. This Disorder among the Troops, was occasion'd as much by the Officers Faults as by want of Money. Prince *Rupert*, Son of *Frederick* Elector *Palatine* and King of *Bohemia*, perform'd, at first, glorious Actions at the Head of the Horse, and afterwards in Quality of General; but he was a Prince who had more Courage than Conduct, and consequently one of the chief Causes of the Royal Party's Ruin, to which, however, it cannot be doubted that he was very well inclin'd. In the end, he behav'd himself as Ill as he had done Well at first: But on the contrary, the Parliament Officers, who had not any Experience of War, but what they had acquir'd during these Disturbances, became so Expert, and form'd so well their Troops, that the old Officers cou'd not stand before 'em; Witness *Fairfax* and

and *Cromwell*, who finish'd the War, and obtain'd the greatest Victories over 'em. The Fairness of our Historian ought to be acknowledg'd in this Volume, where, in defending the Justice of the King's Cause, he does not fail to point out the Faults of those who serv'd him, and to give very bad Characters of them when they deserv'd it. If he speaks ill of the Parliament Officers, when the thing seems to require it, he is not wanting to report what makes for their Honour.

The Author complains bitterly about the Parliament's ordering several Persons of Quality to be taken up and their Estates seiz'd; only because they declar'd for the King, yet without taking Arms for him. This was without doubt too violent, but they are the Consequences of Civil Wars. He complains likewise, and with much more reason, of the seditious Sermons of the *Presbyterians*, who instead of Preaching Moderation and Peace, abus'd the Holy Scripture, in order to stir up the People to make War upon the King with Vigour.

Affairs of State, and especially such as regard War, are not the Province of those who Preach the Gospel. They ought to remember, that He, whose Ministers they call themselves, has declar'd *His Kingdom is not of this World*. Arch-Bishop *Laud* did ill to put the King upon setting up in *Scotland* by dint of Authority the *English* Liturgy, tho' in it self infinitely preferable to the Prayers of the *Phanaticks*, and still much worse in advising him to avenge himself by a War. They ought to have obtain'd what they desir'd from the People of *Scotland*, by gentleness and length of time, and to have desisted if they could not gain them, rather than to expose the King's Authority, and raise a War to support it. But it was not better done, to excite the People to make War upon the King, with a design to ruin *Episcopal* Government establish'd by the Laws, and more excellent than the *Presbyterian*.

At the beginning of the War, Colonel *Goring*, Governour of *Portsmouth*, declar'd for the King, and undertook to keep it for his Majesty. He was provided with every thing requisite for that purpose, and had all the necessary time to prepare himself for a Siege; but he was a Man given up to his Pleasure, and negligent, tho' otherwise brave upon Occasion; but did nothing as he shou'd do. He was oblig'd to surrender that Place in a short time

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time, upon condition, that the Officers of the Garison might join the King, and he himself go beyond Sea; from whence he afterwards return'd to serve his Prince; to whom, however, he did more Mischief than Good; if what this Author relates of him be true.

The first Action of Consequence, which pass'd between the two Armies, was the Battel of *Edghill*, in the County of *Warwick*, which happen'd *October* the 23, 1643. Both sides claim'd the Advantage, but it appears, that if Prince *Rupert* (who commanded the Horse of the Right Wing, and who push'd the Enemy) and the rest of the Horse, (who had likewise the Advantage) had not been so over-hasty in pursuit of the Run-aways, the King wou'd have had a compleat Victory; whereas he ran the risk of being cut in pieces, together with the Foot, by that of the Enemy, and by the Reserve of Horse that kept its Post. But they cou'd not oblige the Horse, which were return'd from the pursuit, to charge those that were left, and who made an undisturb'd Retreat. It may be seen by our Author's Account, as well as *Ludlow's*, that there was no great Order nor Harmony among the Generals of either side in this Battel; no more than in the rest which were fought during this War. The General of the Royal Army, the Earl of *Lindsey*, was mortally Wounded in this Battel; and died in the Enemies hands. There fell likewise some other Lords of Distinction; and some few of the Parliament Officers: The number of the kill'd was in all about 5000; of whom our Author says, there was not above one third o' the King's side. Indeed it was apparent by the consequence, he had had some Advantage, since the Earl of *Essex* retir'd towards *London* with his Forces, and had no further thoughts of disturbing the King's Army, who advanc'd as far as *Oxford*, took Possession of the Post of *Reading* in *Berks*, which the Earl of *Essex* had Abandon'd, and reduc'd by Force some others round *Oxford*, where he pass'd the Winter.

All this time, Writings and Declarations were interchangeably made, which had no better Effect, than those that had pass'd before. Both sides endeavour'd to gain not only *Scotland*, but likewise the United Provinces, and other Powers of *Europe*; wherein the Parliament succeed'd better than the King.

If any Judgment can be made from the Conduct of these
I Potentates,

Potentates, it appears they had a better Opinion of the Parliament Forces than his, and the Event shew'd they were not at all deceiv'd. Thus, tho' our Author complains very much of the Neighbouring Powers, and especially *France*, and the *States General* of the United Provinces, it was not Wisdom in them to declare for the King; and the *Hollanders* had but an ill time afterwards, for giving the Parliament Cause of Jealousy, and favouring the Successor of *Charles I.* To Espouse the Weaker side, from whose Victory a State cannot naturally expect any greater Advantages than from that of the Stronger, is not an Act of Prudence. Republicks ought not to make use of the Blood and Treasure of their Subjects in any body's favour; nor expose themselves to the Hazards of War, without a good prospect of considerable Advantage, or without being oblig'd to it for their own Preservation. The Wars of 1666, and 1672, which *Charles II.* made upon the *States General*, in recompence for what they had done for him after his Father's Death, is a good Confutation of every thing our Chancellor says upon this head. I could add other Considerations, which I omit, for fear of being tedious. It may be observ'd throughout, that the Affection the Author justly had for the Royal Family, causes him to speak well or ill of their Neighbours, as they were either for or against that Family, or as they laid its Intetest to heart, or neglected it. So difficult it is to observe the Law prescrib'd to Historians, that they should not have either Friends or Country. However, we ought to commend the Indignation he shews against the Potentates; who make it their Business to keep up Quarrels amongst their Neighbours; tho' this is the common practice of the greatest of 'em; and *England*, under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, was accus'd of it by the *Spaniards*.

He likewise very much complains of the *Hugonots* in *France*, who, he says, were the King's declar'd Enemies, because they favour'd the *Presbyterians*. This gave him an Opportunity to shew in what manner the foreign *Presbyterians* establish'd themselves in that Kingdom under the Reign of *Elizabeth*, and how they came to have Churches under her Reign, under that of *James the First*, and the beginning of *Charles the First*, with all manner of Tranquility. 'Twas only at the Instigation of the Clergy, (grown

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(grown too powerful in the Council of *Charles the First*, thro' the Negligence and Weakness of *Lay Counsellors*;) that the first Discontents were given to the *Presbyterian*, *Walloon*, and *Flemish Meetings*, under pretence they receiv'd *English Schismaricks*, whereas the Liberties they enjoy'd, were only granted in favour of *Foreigners*. This extremely disturb'd 'em; and occasion'd an universal Clamour among the *Nonconformists* throughout the Kingdom: And whereas the Ambassadors, and other publick Ministers from *England*, had, till then, frequented the *Reformed Assemblies in France*, they were order'd from that time to forbear any extraordinary Commerce with the Men of that Profession. The Lord *Scudamore*, the last Ambassador before the Civil War, had a private Chappel with *Wax-Candles* on the Communion-Table, and other Ornaments, which the *Reform'd of France* had never seen, and which gave 'em very great Offence. Besides this, the Ambassador and his People affected to say every where, that the Bishops of *England* did by no means look upon the *Reform'd in France*, as Members of the same Church with them. This caus'd the Church of *England* to be unjustly accus'd of favouring the *Romish Church*. Our Author, who is worthy of Credit in this Particular, assures, that the Design of the Prelates, who conducted this Affair, was to beget the more Respect to the Church of *England*; and by that means, oblige the Church of *Rome* to abate a little of her Pride towards her; that so both Parties, piously considering the Charity which Religion requires of us, might, if not unite, at least lessen the Sharpness of their Disputes touching Opinions, and agree in practical Duties, to which all Christians and Subjects are oblig'd. They were doubtless deceiv'd in this, and did not take sufficient Heed to the Circumstances they were in. Thus, tho' they had a good Intention, their Conduct produc'd a quite contrary Effect, in alienating the Affections of foreign Protestants, who broke out against the Church of *England* when they saw it in Danger, yet without receiving any Indulgence from the Church of *Rome* in her Behalf. This likewise gave occasion to disadvantageous Reports, and I remember to have read in the *Memorie Recondite* of *Vittorio Siri*, that 'twas commonly talk'd in *Italy*, that

the † *Barbarini* were in fault Archbishop *Laud* was not drawn over to *Rome*, by refusing him 5 or 6000 Crowns yearly Revenue, which he insisted upon. I hold this for a meer Falsity, but we may see by it, that when honest Intentions are not directed by Prudence, they often produce more Evil than Good.

This whole Affair, unseasonably stir'd and manag'd with little Skill, was extreamly detrimental to all the Royal Party; who were likewise accused of Popery. This Accusation, with others, wrought upon the People to pay a blind Obedience to the Parliament, and to leave it to 'em absolutely to do what they thought fit, without troubling themselves about Laws, and the Practice of past Ages; as if by the War all the Sovereignty was devolv'd upon the People and the Parliament their Representative, without having any further Occasion for the King's Concurrence. Thus the Parliament found means to raise vast Sums of Money, tho' the King oppos'd it.

Some of the principal Citizens of *London* did, however, take upon 'em to present a Petition to the Parliament, to desire 'em to offer such Proposals to the King, as he might with Honour accept, to the End, that they might come at a good Peace. But the Parliament refus'd to receive this Petition, under pretence it was prepar'd by the Rabble; tho' they made use of the Consent of this very Rabble when 'twas for their Advantage: They likewise hinder'd the City of *Westminster* from doing the same thing. But that they might not seem Enemies to Peace, they procur'd the Common-Council of the City, who were mostly their own Creatures, to present a Petition to the King, to desire him to return to his Parliament, in order to redress the Grievances of the Nation, upon the Matter of their Privileges and Religion; which was the same thing as asking him to disband his Army, and commit himself to the Discretion of the Parliament. This Petition was presented to the King at *Oxford*, Jan. 10th, 1642. He answer'd it, shewing that he could not safely do what was desir'd by 'em. But the Parliament took such Measures, that this Answer had no Effect among

† *The Cardinals of that Name, the then Pope's Nephews.*

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the People. They dispos'd themselves to make new Propositions, which they sent to *Oxford*, and which were more disadvantageous to the King than the former. The King fail'd not on his side to encounter these with opposite ones to the Parliament.

All this while each Party continued to act by way of Arms; some Nobility of *Sussex* took Possession of *Chichester* for the King; but it was retaken by Sir *William Waller*, before Provisions cou'd be thrown into it. Prince *Rupert*, on his side, took by Storm the Town of *Cirencester*, where the Soldiers committed great Disorders, without distinguishing Friends or Enemies: A considerable Party likewise form'd it self in favour of the King, in the West of *England*, under the Marquis of *Hertford*, and some Gentlemen of that Country. The Author enlarges mightily upon the Conduct and Actions of this Army, called the *Cornish Army*; which serv'd the King with great Fidelity and Courage: They had at first pretty good Success, tho' ill Equipt, and ill provided in comparison of the Parliament Forces. I cannot dwell upon it, nor on Events of less Moment.

Ireland was at that time the Subject of Conversation, rather than of the Care of the Parliament, who sent no Succours thither. The King was in no Condition to do it; since he had a great deal of Difficulty to maintain himself in *England*, and yet all the Mischief that happen'd There, was charg'd to his Account.

A Cessation of Arms was talk'd of in *England*, and of entring upon some Treaty, but the Preliminaries were found full of Difficulties; which will be found in the Author. And the Committee from the Parliament being at last gone to *Oxford*, all their Negotiations came to nothing. Upon this Occasion, our Author gives the Characters of the King's chief Counsellors, and of some Lords who stuck to the Parliament.

VII. The 7th Book begins with the History of the fruitless Negotiation at *Oxford*, and informs us it had no Effect; for besides that hardly any thing cou'd be agreed upon, neither Side cou'd resolve with it self to trust to any thing the other promised. The thirteenth of *April*, the last Day of the Treaty, the Earl of *Essex* marched with the Parliament Army to besiege *Reading*, which surrender'd the 27th upon Capitulation. Colonel *Fielding*

Fielding who Commanded therein, was accus'd of not having done his Duty. Mean time, the King's Troops had made some Progress in other Parts, and his Majesty finding himself in a tolerable good Condition, caus'd Proposals to be made to the Parliament the Second time, to disband the Armies on both sides. and to labour a Peace in a free and full Assembly of Parliament. The House of Commons, far from listning to this Offer, committed the Messenger, under pretence he was come without a Passport, and went so far as to impeach the Queen, (who was lately return'd into *England*) of High Treason, for having furnish'd the King with Arms and other Ammunition of War. There happen'd afterwards a Discovery to be made in *London*, of a Purpose in some of the Inhabitants to deliver the City up to the King; which only serv'd to take away their Lives, and strengthen the Power of the Parliament, who from that time treated with great Rigour those they suspected to favour the King.

Upon this they made a sort of Confederacy or Covenant, as had been done in *Scotland*, by which the Members of Parliament, and infinite Numbers of other Persons, oblig'd themselves to stand by one another against the Royal Party. The Parliament Army, however, got no very great Advantage; it was seiz'd with Distempers; and the Earl of *Essex* being advanc'd to *Thame* in the County of *Bucks*, within Ten Miles of *Oxford*, Prince *Rupert* beat up one of his Quarters with good Success. There it was *Hambden* was kill'd, whom we have mention'd more than once, and whose Character the Author gives again in this Place, as he does that of many others.

The War continu'd likewise in the West of *England*, and both sides had the Advantage and Disadvantage alternately; as will be seen in our Chancellor. But it seems the King's Affairs went better there than those of the Parliament; tho' the Royal Party lost more Persons of Quality and Distinction than the Others, who hardly miss'd any but Officers of inconsiderable Note, or common Soldiers. This Loss however of People of Condition, who fell in small Rencounters, which decided nothing, or in the attacking of Places of little Consequence, was at last very hurtful to the King; who lost by degrees those who might have done him the greatest Service. The Earl of

Essex

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Essex was oblig'd to retire likewise from *Thame* towards *Oxbridge*, after some Loss; and the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* forced *Bristol*, a City of Importance, and the Second in the Kingdom, to capitulate, and put it self into the King's Hands; but the Articles of Capitulation were but ill observ'd upon this Occasion, as well as upon others; which only serv'd to discredit the King's Arms, and to exasperate the contrary Side the more, as the Author complains in divers places. Neither does he forget the Divisions there were between the *Palatine* Princes and the *English* Officers. They cou'd not away with the Haughty and Imperious Humour of those Princes, who fancy'd they might treat the *English*, as the Princes of *Germany* do their Subjects. The King was oblig'd to take a Journey to *Bristol*, to compose the Differences.

That Prince afterwards undertook, in the Month of *August*, to lay Siege to *Gloucester*, where Colonel *Massey*, a Soldier of Fortune, commanded for the Parliament. This Man defended himself with a great deal of Courage and Conduct; whilst *Weymouth*, *Portland*, *Exeter*, and other Towns in the *West*, return'd, either by fair Means or by Force, to the King's Obedience. But these Advantages did not hinder the Earl of *Essex*, after he had recruited his Army, to march to the Relief of *Gloucester*; the Siege whereof cou'd not be carry'd on in sight of his Army, tho' the City was reduced to Extremity. After he had revictuall'd it, and furnish'd it with Warlike Ammunition, the Earl of *Essex* thought of nothing but retiring, tho' he was kept in View by the King's Army, who entertain'd him with brisk Skirmishes, and even prevented him, by seizing the Town of *Newbury*, thro' which he was to pass. The next Day (the 18th of *September*) was fought the Battle of *Newbury*, where the King being beaten, the Earl retired quietly towards *London*. The Author observes, that some young Officers of the Royall Army, with a kind of Contempt of the Enemy, charg'd upon all Grounds of Inequality; and that some Train'd-Bands of *London*, (of whom too cheap an Estimation was had) stood the Attacks of the King's Horse, with wonderful Intrepidity. It may be observ'd, that in almost all Actions, there was little Order, and little Obedience, among the King's Troops; and on the contrary, a great deal among those of the Parliament, where it

was least expected. These Troops became every Day better and better, and their Officers acted with more Harmony and Conduct, whilst Licentiousness and Misunderstanding increas'd in the King's Army, which at length caus'd the Ruin of that Prince.

The Author, here, gives the Characters of some Lords, who were slain at the Battle of *Newbury*, and especially Viscount *Falkland*, who was Secretary of State, and his particular Friend. He gives him extraordinary Praises; and a more accomplish'd Lord could hardly be found; if the Original was according to the Copy.

The Earl of *Essex* return'd to *Reading*, and from thence to *London*, where he was receiv'd in Triumph by the Parliament. The King, on the contrary, being return'd to *Oxford*, after the raising of a Siege, and the Loss of a Battel, found nothing but Dejection of Mind, Discontent, and secret Mutiny, as well among those of his Army, as others not of it. The Earls of *Bedford*, *Clare*, and *Holland*, had now quitted the Party of the Parliament, and repair'd to *Oxford*; but the King receiving 'em coldly, contrary to all good Policy, they return'd to the Parliament's Quarters, where they were still worse entertain'd.

During the Prosperity of the King's Arms, the Parliament of *England* had sent to solicit Assistance of the *Scots*, who agreed to grant it upon certain Conditions, and engag'd the *English* in their Religious Covenant, which they subscrib'd the 25th of *September*. The Author says something of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*; but it were to be wish'd he had been a little fuller on that Subject. He adds at full length, a Copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Thus were entituled the Articles of the *Scots* League, which hardly did less Mischief in that Country than the *Catholic* League in *France*. This League (or Covenant) being receiv'd by the Parliament's Party; and some Money the *Scots* stood in need of, being advanced, an Army was rais'd in *Scotland*, to be commanded by *Lesley*.

Whilst the King's Enemies were knitting themselves more closely one with another, his Servants were quarrelling among themselves, thro' Jealousies, and Pretensions many of 'em had to be rais'd to higher Offices, or more

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considerable Commands. Our Historian makes several Judicious Remarks thereupon, which he begins with this Reflection. 'The Discomposures, Jealousies, and Disgusts, which reign'd at *Oxford*, (where the King was) produced great Inconveniencies; and as many times Men in a Scuffle lose their Weapons, and light upon those which belong'd to their Adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others; such, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army, in the Encounters with the Enemies. For those under the King's Commanders, grew insensibly into all the License, Disorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproach'd the Rebels; and they into great Discipline, Diligence, and Sobriety; which begat Courage and Resolution in them, and notable Dexterity in Achievements and Enterprizes: Infomuch, as one Side seem'd to fight for Monarchy with the Weapons of Confusion; and the other, to destroy the King and Government with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy. The Event prov'd this Observation true. The Affairs of the *West*, which had gone pretty well for the King, began to decline, as may be seen in the Author.

There came about that time an Ambassador from *France* into *England*, under pretence of serving the King. It was the Count *d'Harcourt*, whom the Queen Mother, who was made Regent, sent thither; but this Embassy did no manner of good. Our Historian doubts not, that Cardinal *Richlieu* fomented the Disturbances in *England*; at least it had been taken notice of, that the Marquis *d'Seneterre*, who resided there, before, in Quality of Ambassador, had contracted a wonderful Familiarity with the fiercest Managers of the Parliament.

At this time, the Parliament voted a new *Broad Seal*, with the Arms of *England*, to be used instead of that the King had in his Hands; and intrusted it with Commissioners they Nominated for that purpose.

The *Scots* Army enter'd upon the Frontiers of *England* the beginning of the Year 1644, to support the Affairs of the Parliament. The King, to make Head against it, issued out a Proclamation, requiring all the Members who had left the Parliament at *Westminster*, to repair to *Oxford* by such a Day. This did not produce any good; because they who had absented themselves from *London*, had not

Courage enough, or sufficient Confidence in the Management of the Royal Party, to oppose themselves to those who remain'd at *Westminster*.

As neither the King, nor the Parliament, were in a Condition to maintain the War against the Rebels in *Ireland*, his Majesty gave Orders to those who manag'd his Affairs in that Country, to conclude a Cessation of Arms with the Rebels; and sent for part of the *English* Troops which were there, to make use of 'em against the Parliament. But they were soon defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. The King however sent the Marquis of *Newcastle*, with some Troops, against the *Scots* Forces, which he stopp'd for a good while. The King likewise caus'd Duke *Hamilton* to be imprison'd at *Oxford*; and indeed this Lord had serv'd him ill enough in *Scotland*: But he was not fortunate either against him or for him; as the Sequel of the History makes appear.

VIII. The Year 1644 was fill'd with good and bad Events on both Sides; but the Advantages of the Parliament were infinitely greater than those of the King. *Waller*, one of the Parliament Generals, beat the Lord *Hopton*, near *Alresford*, the 29th of *March* 1644. The Earl of *Essex* not having done, as was believ'd, all that lay in his power, the Parliament wou'd have the Earl of *Manchester* command a separate Army, and join the *Scots*; by that means to make himself Master of the *North* of *England*. He oblig'd the Marquis of *Newcastle* to retire into *York* with his Foot, and to send General *Goring* with the Horse to cover, as well as he cou'd, the places that were in the King's Interest. The Earl of *Essex* march'd towards the *West*, where *Weymouth* surrender'd to him, and where he made some other small Expeditions. As for *Waller*, he follow'd the King, who was gone from *Oxford* with very few Troops, and who by the quickness of his Marches escaped the Enemy very happily, and afterwards repuls'd 'em with Loss, at *Copredy*; which put 'em out of condition to follow him any further.

In the mean time, there fell out a very great Misfortune in the King's Army near *York*. Prince *Rupert*, after having taken or deliver'd some small Places in the *West* of *England*, march'd directly to *York* to relieve it, and was join'd by *Goring's* Horse. The *English* and *Scots* who besieg'd *York*, liv'd in very ill understanding together, and

won'd have been oblig'd to abandon that Place if it had not wanted Provisions. The Arrival of the Prince so surpriz'd 'em, that they retir'd to one side of the Town, and left the other free, by which Provisions were carry'd into it. If the Prince had but sat still, and only observ'd the Enemies Army, it had been enough to have destroy'd it: But he wou'd needs give 'em Battle, which was fatal to him, and that too without so much as consulting with the Marquis of *Newcastle*. He at first broke the *Scots* Army, the General whereof fled 10 Miles from the City, and was taken Prisoner by a Constable; which being spread about the Kingdom, 'twas believ'd the King's Army had won the Day. But the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, charg'd so well, and fought in such excellent Order, that they entirely defeated both the Horse they had to do with, and the Marquis of *Newcastle*'s Body of Foot. The Battle having lasted till Night, the King's Generals retired into the City of *York*, without well knowing what Loss they had sustain'd. The next Day the Marquis left the City to go beyond Sea; and the Prince with what Troops were left, rashly abandon'd the County of *York* to the Parliament: Whereas, if they had had a little more Constancy, the Enemy wou'd not have gain'd any great Advantage from this Battle, as the Author makes appear, in deploring the Precipitation with which these two General retreated. Upon this News, the Queen who was at *Exeter*, retired into *Cornwall*, and thence into *France*.

Mean time, the Earl of *Essex* march'd towards *Cornwall*, to follow Prince *Maurice*, who retir'd thither; and the King, who had freed himself from *Waller*'s Pursuit, assembled all the Troops he could, to relieve *Maurice*. He so straightly inclos'd the Earl, that he resolv'd to retire from thence by Sea with his Foot, and to send all his Horse to make their way in the Night-time, thro' the King's Quarters, under the Conduct of Sir *William Balfour*. The latter succeeded very well in his Retreat, by a scandalous Oversight in some of the King's Officers; but the King, being advis'd of it, hinder'd the Retreat of the Foot, which was oblig'd to capitulate, and which retir'd the second of *September*, surrend'ring all their Artillery, Ammunition, and Arms; except only, that the Officers were suffer'd to keep their Swords. The Author assures that the Parliament, for all this, receiv'd the Earl of *Essex* as if he had

brought the Army back in good Condition ; but it appear'd afterwards, They were by no means satisfy'd with him.

The few Troops the King had left at *Oxford*, and some others, made little Excursions, with tolerable Advantage ; but the King not having retir'd soon enough into that City, (where he was to pass the Winter) was attack'd by the Earl of *Manchester*, who Commanded all the Parliament Forces, near *Newbury*, the 27th of *October*. After a doubtful Fight, the King was oblig'd to retire in the Night-time ; which gave an Opportunity to the Parliament to challenge the Victory. Tho' the King was in a better Posture, as it seem'd, than in the Beginning of the Summer, he had, however, entirely lost the *North of England*, and the Scots had made themselves Masters of *Newcastle*. They were in a Condition to march further towards the *South*, as the Parliament of *England* shou'd think fit. The King on the contrary, knew not where to get what was necessary for him, for the Subsistence of his Army, nor how to Recruit it.

The King's Army, says the Author, was less united than ever. The † old General was set aside, and Prince *Rupert* was put into his Command, which was no popular Change. For the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no Oversight in his Conduct, was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurr'd with the most reasonable Opinion ; and tho' he was not of many Words, nor quick in Hearing, yet upon any Action, he was Sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough and Passionate, and lov'd not Debate ; lik'd what was propos'd, as he lik'd the Persons who propos'd it ; and was so great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepeper*, the only Privy-Counsellors who were present in Debates of the War, that he cross'd all they propos'd. The Truth is, the whole Army had been dispos'd, from the first raising it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Privy-Council ; and the King himself had not been solicitous enough, to preserve the Respect due to it ; in which he lessen'd his own Dignity. *Goring*, who was now General of the Horse, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert* than *Wilmot* had been ; had all the other's Faults, and wanted his Regularity,

† The Earl of Brentford.

'and the Knowledge how to preserve his Respect with the
 'Officers. *Wilmot* lov'd Debauchery; but shut it out from
 'his Business, never neglected that, and rarely miscarry'd
 'in it. *Goring* had much a Better Understanding, and a
 'sharper Wit, (except in the very Exercise of Debauchery,
 'and then, says the Author, the other was *Inspir'd*) a much
 'keener Courage and Presentness of Mind in Danger.
 'Wilmot discern'd it farther off, and because he cou'd not
 'behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or
 'warily declin'd it; and never drank when he was with-
 'in Distance of an Enemy. *Goring* was not able to resist
 'the Temptation when he was in the middle of 'em, nor
 'wou'd decline it to obtain a Victory: As in one of these
 'Fits, he had suffer'd the Enemies Horse to escape out of
 '*Cornwall*; and the most signal Misfortunes of his Life in
 'War, had their Rise from that uncontrollable Licence.
 'Neither of them valu'd their Promises, Professions, or
 'Friendships, according to any Rules of Honour or Inte-
 'grity; but *Wilmot* violated 'em the less willingly, and
 'never but for some Benefit or Convenience to himself;
 '*Goring* without Scruple, out of Humour, or for Wits
 'sake, and lov'd no Man so well, but that he wou'd couzen
 'him, and then expose him to publick Mirth for having
 'been couzen'd, therefore he had always fewer Friends
 'than the other, but more Company; for no Man had
 'a Wit that pleas'd the Company better. The Ambition
 'of both was unlimited, and so equally capable of being
 'contented, and both unrestrain'd by any respect to good
 'Nature or Justice, from pursuing the Satisfaction thereof.
 'Yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion, and wou'd
 'not have attain'd his End by any gross or scul Act of
 'Wickedness. *Goring* cou'd have pass'd thro' those plea-
 'santly, and wou'd without Hesitation have broken any
 'Trust, or done any Act of Treachery to have satisfied an
 'ordinary Passion or Appetite, and in Truth wanted no-
 'thing but Industry, (for he had Wit and Courage, and
 'Understanding and Ambition, uncontroll'd by any Fear
 'of God or Man) to have been as Eminent and Successful
 'in the highest Attempt of Wickedness, as any Man in
 'the Age he liv'd in, or before. Of all his Qualifications,
 'Dissimulation was his Master-piece; in which he so much
 'excell'd, that Men were not ordinarily asham'd or out of
 'Countenance with being deceiv'd but twice by him.

The

The Singularity of these Characters is the reason why I have given 'em at full length. They have something in 'em so extraordinary, as well as many others, that one wou'd almost suspect the Author had imitated *Tacitus* in his Portraiture; that is to say, had *heighten'd* it a little, both in the bad part and the good. He speaks no better of the Temper of the Court, but I cannot dwell upon that.

The King's Officers, however, were not guilty of all the Errors; they of the Parliament were likewise very much divided. The Party of the *Independents*, which was the most violent, After they had engag'd the *Presbyterians* in a War, and hinder'd 'em from hearkening to any Proposals of Peace, perceiv'd they must for the future make use of other Tools to compass their Deligns. The Earl of *Essex* had lost his Reputation, and he of *Manchester* seem'd not inclin'd to push the King's Army at *Newbury*. *Oliver Cromwell* accus'd him of it openly. New Opinions likewise started up in Religion, which made more Subdivisions; and then it was the Word *Phanatick* began to come in use. It were to be wish'd, as I said before, that our Author had enlarg'd a little upon this Head. He seems to have had in his Eye the *Independents*, and the *Enthusiasts* who expected the *Fifth Monarchy*, as they call'd it, or the Monarchy of *Jesus Christ*, whose Coming they were willing to hasten by force of Arms: They were likewise Men of Vision and Inspiration, or who were willing at least to obtrude the Suggestions of their disorder'd Brains, or irregular Passions, for things they were inspir'd with. They were otherwise *Calvinists*, except as to Discipline; for they would have each Assembly to be † independent of others, and rejected Excommunication. Till that time they liv'd in Union with the *Presbyterians*; who nevertheless were distrustful of 'em, as they were likewise of the *Presbyterians*.

For Concord among themselves, and the better to order their Affairs, they proclaim'd a Fast. When the Day came, they continu'd Eight or Ten Hours in the Churches, to hear *Extempore* Prayers, or *Phanatical* Sermons; in which the Preachers, thro' the secret Instigation of the Heads of the Party, exclaim'd against such as had publick Offices,

† From thence it is they were call'd Independents.

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and who had more regard to their private Interest, than the Good of the State; and Said that *others must be put in their places.* The next day Cromwell and Vane propos'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*, which being pass'd, the Officers of the Army were oblig'd to renounce their Employments. The particular Effects of this Act will be seen Anon.

About this time the King sent to *London* the Duke of *Richmond*, and Earl of *Southampton*, to propose to the Parliament a Treaty of Peace. After many Difficulties, they agreed to meet at *Uxbridge*, whither the Commissioners on both sides came. A little before this, Arch-Bishop *Laud* was beheaded, as guilty of High Treason, by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament, in spite of the Pardon the King had sent him. Our Historian says, that 'his Learning, 'Piety, and Virtue had been attain'd by very few, and the 'greatest of his Infirmities were common to all, even the 'best of Men.

You will find in the Author a long Relation of the fruitless Treaty of *Uxbridge*, wherein they cou'd not agree on any one thing. The King's Commissioners, in the last Sitting, presented to those of the Parliament a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and observed that after a very long War undertaken, as was pretended, for the Defence and Vindication of the Laws of the Land and the Liberty of the Subject, 'In a Treaty of Twenty Days, They had not demanded 'any one thing that by the Law of the Land they had the 'least Title to demand, but insisted only on such Particulars as were against Law, and the establish'd Government 'of the Kingdom; and that much more had been offer'd 'to 'em for the obtaining of Peace, than they cou'd with 'Justice and Reason require.

The Parliament had insisted upon the entire Destruction of Episcopal Government: To be absolute Masters of the Militia of the Kingdom by Land and Sea, as likewise of all the Castles and Strong Holds; and that the Cessation of Arms the King had granted the Rebels in *Ireland*, shou'd be declar'd void.

The King cou'd grant nothing of all this, but only the Reformation of some Abuses; and to take other Measures for the Affairs of *Ireland*, provided the Parliament wou'd send thither a sufficient Army to reduce the Rebels.

About this time the King surpriz'd *Weymouth*, (which the Parliament held) and at the same time lost *Shrewsbury*; but the ill Posture of his Majesty's Affairs oblig'd him to think of parting with his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, whom he sent to the West of the Kingdom, to reside at *Bristol* with a Council which he gave him, and whereof the Author, who had been for some time Chancellor of the Exchequer, was one. The King was of opinion, he ought to take more Care of his Son's Safety than his own, because he thought the Parliament wou'd not attempt the Life of a King, by whose Death, according to Law, they were *ipso Facto* dissolv'd. The Sequel shew'd how much he was mistaken in imagining they durst not Violate the Law in this respect.

The Author afterwards relates in this Book, the manner how the Earl of *Montross* got the King's Approbation for his going into *Scotland*, and making War there by his Order; which at first succeeded very well. This Book likewise gives an Account of the Death of the two *Hothams*, who were Condemned by the Parliament, for having fail'd in their Fidelity to 'em, tho' these Gentlemen had in some sort begun the War upon the King, by refusing to give him Entrance into *Hull*.

F I N I S.